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CARTER SPEECH SIGNALS 'DRASTIC DEVIATION' FROM PAST POLICY

AU282125 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Jan 80 p 5 AU

[Vladimir Lankov article: "In the Language of 'Cold War'"]

[Text] It is a tradition in American political life, that in the first days following the Congress's Christmas holidays, the President should convey to or personally deliver the so-called State of the Union message to Congress. As we can judge from its title, the message represents a review of past achievements, as well as a description of the future tasks awaiting the administration throughout the coming year. Usually the message is mainly devoted to domestic issues. This year, however, the State of the Union Message was an exception to the rule in its contents and style.

If we were to describe the message in a few words, we could say that it represents a drastic deviation from the officially proclaimed desire to alleviate international tension and that it is indeed the beginning of a renunciation of hitherto achieved results in this field.

There is sufficient proof in the message itself to confirm this evaluation. Let us remember that in his election campaign Carter promised a $5-7 million reduction of the military budget. Nevertheless, throughout the three years of his administration he not only has failed to fulfill that promise, but Congress is now being asked to approve the Pentagon's military draft budget that has reached a record amount of $158 billion. This acutally represents a 5 percent increase compared to past military budgets. Just like at the time of settling the economic crisis, the American people are once more asked to "pay any price necessary" and to be ready for any "sacrifice" necessary for implementation of an intensified 5-year military program. The program is being "justified" by the well-known spector of the "Soviet threat" and is being launched as a "general line" in the foreign policy of the administration throughout the eighties. It is hardly necessary to state that such a program envisages an unprecedented increase of Washington's military power (and of course, an increase in the profits made by the military-industrial corporations).

Once more referring to the legend of the "Soviet danger", Carter insists upon the establishment of "quick reaction" forces, which actually means a legalization of the United States' right to interfere into the domestic affairs of states that are rich in oil resources and in other strategic raw materials. The so-called "arc of instability" introduced by Brzezinski, including Iran and Afghanistan, is an expression of such aggressive intentions. Despite the unmistakable declarations of those countries' leaders, Carter insists that they are threatened by the Soviet Union. In his message Carter is trying to justify the discrimination measures adopted by his administration against the USSR in violation of already concluded agreements and declares that he will "devote efforts"--meaning that he will exert pressure--in order to persuade his NATO allies to follow the U.S. example.

It is neither accidental, nor incorrect, when certain Western commentators compare the meaning and spirit of the State of the Union Message to the language of "cold war." Some of the commentators are even trying to explain the contents of the message by taking into consideration this year's presidential election campaign, which has already started. In that connection they mention Carter's efforts to gain the votes of the more conservative groups of voters. An analysis of the actions of Carter's administration in the recent past, however, shows that the election campaign can only be a factor of secondary importance. Obviously, Carter is increasingly giving in to the pressure of the "hawks" and of the military industrial complex. He is increasingly abandoning his former election promises and is leading his country toward the arms race and against detente.

PRESS DEFENDS SOVIET PRESENCE IN AFGHANISTAN

AU190845 Sofia BTA in English 0825 GMT 19 Jan 80 AU

["Reason vs Brinkmanship"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, Jan 19 (BTA)--The Afghanistan issue is the major subject being dwelt upon by today's Sofia dailies. Here are some of the more substantial conclusions reached by them:

Mr Leonid Brezhnev's replies to the questions of a PRAVDA correspondent are assessed by the dailies as last week's paramount political event of lasting political consequences According to RABOTNICHESKO DELO the replies make the stand of the USSR still clearer and outline the prospects of the struggle for peace and detente. On the background of the "hysterical campaign" organized by Washington against detente, the stability and confidence of the Soviet policy stands out still stronger, the party organ reads: "To look for an alibi in the Afghanistan events for everything the U.S. is doing in order to blockade the normal development of Soviet-American relations, to torpedo political and military detente, is a next-in-a-series attempt at covering up a course perilous to all peoples".

The opinion of RABOTNICHESKO DELO on the "unceremonious" anti-Soviet psychosis organized by the USA is: "It is true that as far as the general political declarations are concerned, the target was hit. But the stands of the allies concerning the sanctions turned out absolutely different from what was desired by the overseas conductor". RABOTNICHESKO DELO and ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME state explicitly that it was not at all incidental that during the recent visit to China of U.S. Defence Minister Harold Brown the ways and means for activating hostile actions against Afghanistan were widely discussed. NARODNA ARMIYA points out in turn: "The military and ideological anti-revolutionary front against the determination of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to defend and consolidate the peoples' gains will fail. In its determination Afghanistan can rely on the all-round backing of the socialist community countries and above all of the Soviet Union".

KAMPUCHEA SIGNS JOINT ECONOMIC AGREEMENT

AU232114 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 23 Jan 80 AU

[Text] Sofia, Jan 23 (BTA)--An economic cooperation agreement was signed here today between Bulgaria and Kampuchea. The document provides for the development of economic contacts between the two countries on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism, fraternal friendship and mutual assistance. A number of specific measures have been mapped out which will contribute to the materialization of the agreements reached between the leaders of Bulgaria and Kampuchea during the visit of the Bulgarian party and state delegation to that country last October. The agreement was signed by Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade of Bulgaria, and by Mr Tang Saroem, minister of home and foreign trade of Kampuchea.

FURTHER COVERAGE OF MLADENOV VISIT TO SOVIET UNION

For Soviet media coverage of the 24-29 January visit to the Soviet Union of Petur Mladenov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and foreign minister, see the Eastern Europe section of the 25 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

CONTINUED COMMENT ON CARTER'S STATE OF UNION ADDRESS

U.S. Increasing World Tension

AU281945 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jan 80 p 1 AU

[Editorial: "The World Does Not Want To Live Dangerously"]

[Text] Whenever presidential election campaigns begin in the United States, the world begins to live more dangerously--wrote one Danish newspaper recently. That seems to apply to this year's U.S. presidential election more than ever before.

The State of the Union message, submitted by President Carter to the U.S. Congress, is--in a certain sense--also his election platform, even though it restricts itself to determining his administration's foreign policy objectives for this year. The special characteristic of the message is that it emphasizes a five-point program to increase the military power of the United States, while efforts to prevent the further proliferation and development of nuclear weapons are put in last place. This ordering of priorities, including the fact that the message does not contain a single mention of the necessity of relaxing international tension, reveals that American foreign policy under Carter's leadership is reverting to "positions of strength," to the policy of confrontation, and to the spirit of the cold war.

Mankind--and the nations of Europe in particular--has learned to know the benefits of the policy of the relaxation of tension, and does not yearn for a return to the cold war. It does not want to live dangerously, but wishes the further strengthening of peace, knowing that the strengthing of peace cannot be achieved without the strengthening of trust, and that that can only be achieved through mutual cooperation.

Without doubt, the United States is a world power, and thus a power which carries considerable responsibility for world developments, but even the closest allies of the United States have, in the years past, more than once doubted whether the United States is at all capable of playing such a world role. More than once--and particularly of late--they reproached U.S. governing circles for not having a clear, long-range political concept on the most fundamental questions of world policy--including the relationship with the Soviet Union--and for literally and capriciously changing their course, a matter which upsets world stability.

Some American politicians, for example William Fulbright, who undoubtedly is one of the more experienced authorities on U.S. foreign policy, pointed out the imprudence with which some weighty foreign policy decisions are being made by the Carter administration. Some time ago Fulbright declared that in the previous 2 years the Soviet Union had hardly had a reason to believe in the good will of America's foreign policy.

As is known, a certain deterioration in Soviet-American relations occurred immediately after Carter became President, when he assumed the role of a "world guardian of human rights" and grossly interfered in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, especially Czechoslovakia. At his first press conference he stated: "I , naturally, cannot march with an armed force and change the internal mechanism of the Soviet governmental system." Now, when all attempts to undermine the socialist countries from within are failing, the U.S. President is reaching for different means with which he would like to undermine the socialist system from the outside, by means of some sort of frontal attack.

That political concept, which the American press has called "the Carter doctrine"--obviously because it more than sufficiently recalls the Truman doctrine from the first years of the cold war--was developed by the U.S. President before the events in Afghanistan in a speech to businessmen in the middle of December, that is, after the NATO Council--under pressure from Washington--adopted the decision on deploying American medium-range missiles in Western Europe. The focal point of the concept is increasing armament and strengthening "the U.S. military presence" in various parts of the world and establishing new military blocs to implement the anti-Soviet strategy of American imperialism.

Carter went into the 1976 elections with an exactly opposite program, however, promising to reduce military expenditure by $5-7 billion annually, but last year's military budget was $130 billion, this year's $141 billion and next year's, according to Carter, is to be as much as $158 billion. He promised to reduce weapons exports and the number of American soldiers abroad, but he has ended up doing exactly the opposite. Can the world trust such a politician? When noting the arbitrary violation of treaties, intergovernmental accords and agreements by the Carter administration, Comrade Brezhnev was justified in saying that because of those actions, "The world even more clearly regards the United States as an absolutely unreliable partner in international relations, a state whose leadership is guided by arbitrary whims, caprices and emotions, or by motives of narrowly interpreted advantages of the moment, which is--at any time--capable of violating its international obligations and trampling underfoot agreements and treaties."

Now, in an attempt to gain popularity in the most dangerous way--by fomenting American big-power chauvinism--he has led the United States to the sharpest confrontation with the Soviet Union since the fifties. Even some of the allies of the United States find it difficult to digest the fact that Carter has become a "hawk."

Responsible West European political personalities had hoped that President Carter would strive for the SALT II treaty ratification by the U.S. Senate by the end of the year at the latest, as Carter was still promising in the middle of October, so that preparations for SALT III could begin, in the conclusion of which the West European NATO states are extraordinarily interested. The treaty's ratification was postponed in a repulsive manner, and now Carter himself has shelved it. At the same time, however, Washington was ruthlessly exerting pressure on the NATO member states to prevent the postponement of the NATO decision on deployment of American missiles in Western Europe. Now, in view of the latest Carter administration steps, the rush to deploy the missiles has acquired an extremely suspect character, the more so now that there is pressure again being exerted on West European and non-European countries to follow the U.S. steps, which must necessarily cause a tense situation in international relations.

Even America cannot afford to live for long in a tense situation, and Europe cannot afford it at all. In Europe, where neighboring states belong to either one of the two big military groupings or stand outside them, peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems is the only possible alternative. Europe cannot lightheartedly abandon the policy of detente nor can it discontinue its efforts aimed at achieving arms control and disarmament. It simply cannot afford the hazardous policy which is being forced on it from Washington.

Soberly thinking political personalities in Western Europe are well aware that to "express solidarity" with the dangerous course of the Carter administration means to help to escalate the spiral of international tension, create conflict situations, step-up armament--simply, to give up everything which Europe has gained in the years of detente. That would mean abandoning one's own policy and again become completely subordinate--as was the case in the years of the cold war--to American imperialism's interest in world domination.

That would, however, neither be in the interest of Europe, nor of the whole world. The world does not want to live dangerously again!

Return to Domination Policies

AU281518 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Jan 80 p 7 AU

[Milan Jelinek Washington dispatch in the column "We Comment": "Unrealistic, Risky Plans"]

[Text] Carter's third consecutive State of the Union message was telling testimony of the shift of American Government policy and opinions in the direction of an unrealistic assessment of international events and in overrating U.S. strength and capability. Again it was most strikingly shown that American imperialism has no intention of reconciling itself to the changed correlation of forces on a worldwide scale. Under President Carter's leadership, the U.S. Government has now embarked on an attempt to renew the U.S. position as the dominant power in the world. It is mobilizing all the resources of the American bourgeois society in order to quickly achieve an emphatic growth of military strength, which it regards as the main instrument and means for realizing its far-reaching intentions. At the same time, Carter confirmed that he would do everything in his power to continue the unrealistic attempts to harm the Soviet Union's economic and political strength, including the systematic pursuit of anti-Soviet measures, which today have already acquired the form of a "trade war."

Carter's statement recalled all too obviously the old concepts of the policy formulated by the United States in the past; let us stress that pursuit of this international policy showed little success. Carter did not say anything new, anything that had not been voiced by all the U.S. Presidents since World War II. His speech at the joint session of Congress was drafted in the spirit of continuing a reactionary policy toward the Soviet Union and the progressive forces in the world. Carter intentionally recalled the American foreign-political actions in the forties, fifties and sixties, and stressed their unifying element--the lasting and pertinacious fight against the Soviet Union. He took pains to present his foreign policy program, which is now being set for the new decade, in such a way that the world would necessarily understand it as the continuation of efforts for achieving old aims. It is also worth noting that, when Carter was preparing the speech, he listened to lectures on Truman's policy of the end of the forties and early fifties. It is superfluous to point out that in this way the President was in fact studying the history of the cold war.

The keynote of the entire message was U.S. relations toward the Soviet Union. Carter again claimed that the White House regards the present international situation, and particularly the events in Afghanistan, as the greatest international crisis and "threat to the United States" since the end of the Second World War. Both the tone and the content of his speech were generous in the use of strong expressions and coarse anti-Soviet declarations, and at one point there was even saber-rattling. Carter left no doubt about his intention to escalate feverish armament. He will continue creating the so-called emergency intervention force at a speedy rate; they will be the means for Washington to meddle in the affairs of other states throughout the world. A quite realistic apprehension is arising that the White House is counting on so-called local conflicts, in which the United States will intervene directly.

A typical example of the spread of a military psychosis in the country was the announcement that the government will start registration of young Americans capable of doing military service; this is being assessed as the first step toward reintroducing general obligatory military service. Carter has also appealed to the Congress to approve the record military budget for 1981, without financial imitations or changes. The congressmen rewarded him with prolonged applause.

In formulating his foreign-policy intentions he spoke of the familiar U.S. program for arming Pakistan and he concentrated on a single strategically important area of the world. Washington regards this passage as the most specific and most threatening part of the State of the Union message. [paragraph continues]

The president declared the area of the Persian Gulf was vitally important for U.S. interests, saying that in pursuing these interests, he would not hesitate to use military force. The American Navy and Air Force will permeate the Indian Ocean and, according to Carter, the United States will make use of the existing military facilities and bases in northeast Africa and in the states around the Persian Gulf, and will also build new facilities there. The chain of American military bases in the world, targeted against the USSR, the anti-imperialist front and the national liberation movement--a chain that has suffered numerous rifts in the last few years--is to be renewed and connected again.

Carter only dealt with matters of domestic policy peripherally. He concentrated on measures which, allegedly, should strengthen the American economy and reduce its dependence on crude oil imports. Behind the endeavors to improve the state of the American economy, however, there are again concealed power and military aims.

Carter has proclaimed dangerous plans which are an attempt to recapture for the United States things it has lost. It is not merely an endeavor to defend the shrinking borders of American imperialist influence, but a plan for transcending them, a cramped effort to return to the times of past power and glory. But any illusion, particularly when it is being stubbornly pursued, is both risky and dangerous.

Return to Cold War

ID281326 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 27 Jan 80 LD

[Dusan Rovensky commentary]

[Text] Carter's State of the Union message traditionally delivered to Congress by the U.S. President each year, was undoubtedly the main event of the week. It confirmed once again what was becoming apparent through various alarming signals: Carter intends to sail into the coming preelection campaign on a wave of cold war feelings and militarism.

Forgotten are the promises the one time governor from Atlanta gave his voters, promises that he would reduce the military budget by between $5-7 billion; that he would encourage talks on reducing armaments; and that he would improve relations with the Soviet Union.

Many U.S. commentators compared Carter's message on the state of the union to statements made by another President, Harry Truman, who occupied the White House more than three decades ago, and who was entering the inglorious annals of the cold war as one of its chief protagonists. Together with John Foster Dulles, McCarthy and others, Truman set into motion the wheels of the cold war. The hopefully developing relations based on cooperation, for which the victory over fascism in World War II laid solid foundations, were effectively frozen for many years.

There are parallels in history. They are of special importance to those who look for tendencies and trends in the dynamic, continually developing events of international life. They are also instructive for those who are currently seeking answers to the question: Is the world standing on the brink of a new cold war? Do the steps taken by Washington mean that no further relaxation will be possible?

These questions are now being posed by many more people than ever before. This is natural; after all, what kind of future there is to be directly concerns everyone of us. The consequences of the cold war unleashed by the West in the fifties have not yet been eradicated in relationships between states and yet the ruling circles of the United States are threatening another one.

Thirty years ago they foolishly wanted to halt the inexorable course of history by means of the cold war which they unleashed in keeping with their global political objectives. They waged it on the economic front, by an embargo and trade discrimination, and they waged it by exerting crude pressure, by threats of force and aggression and by saber-rattling with nuclear weapons. They waged it also on the diplomatic front, in the field of science and through cultural contacts.

Nonetheless, they failed to achieve their basic strategic design: To bring the Soviet Union and the people's democratic countries to their knees. There was one more thing in which they also failed: To prevent the ideas of peaceful cooperation breaking through the shell of the cold war; Churchill's Fulton speech was followed quite inevitably by the meetings at Vienna, Geneva and Helsinki.

Certainly, one must not underestimate the dangerous intentions and activity of those who talk so much in the Western press about a new cold war, about the end of detente. The logic of life and the logic of politics are, however, relentless. Every politician can move and act only within the framework of certain realities; he may not be able to ignore them temporarily but he cannot discard them forever. This is why Carter's attempts to pursue a policy from the position of strength, so strongly and nakedly expressed in his State of the Union message, have their limits. The fact is that it is one thing to speak from a position of strength but another thing to act from it.

The policy from a position of strength, pursued by the White House, ingloriously collapsed years ago when there was a different balance of power in the world arena. What can its outcome be today when the scales of the balance of power have been tipped in a quite different direction from that desired by Washington?

In his message, Carter did not spare strong words; strong words, however, are not always an expression of strength. This is so in this case. Clamor for the revival of outmoded political and strategic doctrines bear witness to the fact that the ruling elite in Washington is unable to come to grips with the fact that one country after another is dropping from its sphere of influence and that their global plans are collapsing. It is a sign of nervousness caused by the fact that countries and whole regions, formerly seen as totally reliable areas under U.S. influence, dropped from its sphere of influence.

It is, however, not only the difficult and mounting international problems which confront those now standing at the helm in Washington; no less difficult are internal socioeconomic problems. The largest consumer of energy and raw materials in the world does not have the necessary energy and raw material balance reliably secured. The ruling circles of the state whose weapons dictated to large areas of the world, now shout that their influence and power have been considerably narrowed. The state which sent its napalm-carrying ships and aircraft to root out everything that might have posed a threat to its power interests suddenly feels that it is unable to defend its selfish interests. The state which plundered the raw material and exploited the work force of the developing countries must now bow to countries which possess neither large armies nor nuclear arms, nor even fleets, nor thousands of military aircraft and tanks, but which, however, possess oil or raw material. It is not possible to acquire either of these by war. The age of the gunboat has definitely disappeared.

These and other things are the realities of the present day world, a world which has entered the last two decades of the second millennium; a period during which it will continue to change in the direction of progress which is unstoppable, indestructible and which is linked inseparably with the history of the human race. If the United States is trying to move the world back to the period of the cold war, to a stage where it will teeter once again on the brink of a military conflict, then it should take a lesson from history for mankind will never permit anything like this.

Despite the dangerous swing that has occurred due to the United States, the principal tendencies of the time will prevail in international relations--tendencies towards detente. Carter's attempt to give the United States back the position it lost as a result of objective changes in the world is futile. His orientation towards aggravating the international atmosphere and fomenting international conflicts cannot bring him the positive results he is expecting, not even during the preelection struggle which is now rising on the political horizon of the United States.

GIEREK LEAVES FOR HOME FOLLOWING TALKS WITH HUSAK

Leaders at Meeting

LD281737 Prague CTK in English 1515 GMT 28 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Prague--Czechoslovak-Polish talks started today shortly after the arrival of the Polish delegation, led by United Workers Party First Secretary Edward Gierek.

The Czechoslovak side was represented by Communist Party General Secretary and President Gustav Husak, party Presidium members Premier Lubomir Strougal and Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak, and the Polish side by Edward Gierek, party Politburo members Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz and Central Committee Secretary Edward Babiuch.

Departure for Warsaw

LD282017 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 28 Jan 80 LD

[Excerpt] Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the PZPR Piotr Jaroszewicz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Edward Babiuch, secretary of the party Central Committee, left for Warsaw by air this evening.

At Ruzyne Airport in Prague the Polish guests were seen off by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic; and by members of the Presidium of the party Central Committee; Lubomir Strougal, federal premier; Vasil Bilak, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ; Josef Korcak, premier of the Czech Socialist Republic; Antonin Kapek, chief secretary of the party city committee in Prague; and other representatives.

KAPEK RECEIVES WARSAW PZPR DELEGATION

LD231500 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 23 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Antonin Kapek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chief secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, today received a delegation of the Warsaw City PZPR Committee. In the course of a comradely conversation the guests stressed that during their stay in our capital they had noted the considerable interest of Prague's citizens' in current life in Poland and Warsaw. The member of the delegation briefed Comrade Kapek on the immediate party tasks of the Warsaw party organization which, like the PZPR, is preparing for the forthcoming eighth party congress.

INDRA ADDRESSES SOUTH BOHEMIAN PLENUM ON ECONOMY

Budejovice JIHOCESKA PRAVDA in Czech 29 Dec 79 p 3 WA

[Report on speech by Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Federal Assembly, at the South Bohemian party plenum in Ceske Budejovice on 21 December]

[Text] Comrades, our party's Central Committee has met at a time of accumulation and considerable sharpening of difficulties in our national economy; difficulties which have not sprung up only this winter: They have a long-term character and their own objective causes lie in what is going on in the world. These difficulties are especially affected by our own work and our ability to react correctly to the needs of society.

When difficulties appear it is quite natural--I would even say legitimate--that criticism grows: It has unquestionably grown in the past months and there are many reasons for this criticism. How are we to behave in the light of this criticism? How are we to react to it?

We as communists, and what is more, as officials, have no need for theoretical education in the importance of criticism: It has always held an important place in our movement; it is anchored as a right and a duty in our statutes. We must view it as proof of our people's interest in what is happening in our country and as evidence of their desire to contribute to the resolution of problems which confront us.

Criticism proves that people are not apathetic, that they care about future progress. It is thus a question of utilizing well-meant criticism for motivating people toward broad popular participation in overcoming existing shortcomings. We must never succumb to the view that there is only a little criticism, or that it is useless and pointless.

This is clear in our party's ranks because, when all is said and done, criticism is the prime mover of our life which helps us in our road forward. You, South Bohemians, know well that stagnant water mildews and stinks.

We must, however, clearly distinguish well-meant criticism from the wave of black criticism which also exists here. I am not speaking of denigration by our enemies; they have never praised us, not even when our labors were going well. Let us beware of the day when they begin to laud us because that would be the best proof that we have done something wrong. I am speaking of carping by our own people who spit on all hitherto-achieved successes, who slander the working selflessness of millions of our people, who disrupt public peace by spreading so-called guaranteed information. We witnessed rumors of general price increases as of 1 January; this was followed by myths about a contemplated currency reform. Comrade Husak reacted correctly to all this in his closing remarks at the 14th Central Committee Plenum. Black criticism never solves anything and we are against it; it cannot resolve a single concrete problem; it disarms and spreads defeatist moods.

We will find many a lesson in the history of the communist movement and in the modern history of our two nations. The most recent lesson, eleven years ago, should serve as a warning to us.

Back then, in 1966 and 1967, it did not begin with political attacks, the earliest roots of later developments were in that black criticism addressed to the development of our economy. Do you remember how certain experts of the Sik type and others painted the situation in such terms that a person had to week at how low we had sunk--all of which was totally unsupported by reality?

In the life of our society we cannot totally exclude black criticism and we cannot always avoid it. Important in this respect, however, is what role is played by communists and economic managers on various levels in plants and other sectors of our economy. If we really want to fight shortcomings, then we have to discuss them concretely; we must assign responsibility and effectively implement measures toward improvement.

The demand to be concrete in this process cannot be merely bandied about. We must always speak of specific ministries, of specific managers; we must always, even on enterprise and basic organization level, speak of specific comrades holding one position or another.

What is missing are not specific measures, documentation, and so on. What is missing is adequate daily organizational work. What is also often missing is courage and perseverance in the struggle to implement resolutions which we have formulated ourselves, which we ourselves apply to our own labor. Our fellow citizens, non-party people, or members of the other parties, do not expect us as communists, to enumerate for them what shortcomings there are. They expect and insist that we provide solutions, that we lead the way toward improvement.

I consider it appropriate that the whole party appreciate that the Central Committee, in its 14th plenary session, proceeded exactingly, calmly, courageously, and deliberatly.

Did someone in the party leadership or at the Central Committee sessions ever promise a carefree life? Did anyone ever promise development without problems and difficulties? It is enough to return to the documents of the 14th and 15th congresses and the individual Central Committee meetings: We will find that we have always enumerated our weaknesses in very concrete terms; we always emphasized priority tasks and always clearly defined ways toward improvement. That which is taking place in the world is, naturally, of great significance and we cannot divorce our problems from it.

Basically, we all agree with the tasks set forth in the Central Committee meetings, but in practical terms it often appears as if we were waiting for someone else to do the work for us.

It is natural, and there is nothing wrong with the fact that a considerable part of that wave of criticism is addressed to the top: This is justifiable and often desirable. The so-called centrum, that is, the party-state leadership, must fulfill that which cannot be performed by anyone else. The solutions lie in the tasks themselves, the tasks of the 15th party congress, and tasks of the individual Central Committee sessions. It is a matter of planning and management, including material and technological supply; it is a matter of what we today call preparation for an improved system of management and planning.

Here is where we find ourselves owing a debt to the resolutions of the last congress. What good does it do for almost everyone to fulfill the plan while there are shortages in many areas: In investment, in foreign trade, domestic trade, and in agriculture. Let us say openly that the latest campaign for effectiveness and economy in labor and the remuneration system, ended up with effectiveness and economy in the latter only. In other words, this effort did not bring the desired results. The system of rewarding high-quality work is not being consistently applied; we have as yet been unable to do away with egalitarianism.

Comrade Indra then spoke on the subject of scientific and technological progress. Many people work in the field of scientific research, and the cost in this sphere of activity is considerable. And where is the impact? On the one hand, our scientific research community has proved itself through achievements of truly global significance; on the other hand, there are many people who, so to speak, work for themselves, their candidacy, doctorate, etc., often for years without contributing anything to society.

It is also true that, once a great discovery is made--due to the ability and selflessness of research workers--it takes forever to introduce it into practical use.

These are also the things which must inevitably be directed by the centrum, including insistence on personal responsibility all the way to cadre evaluations and conclusions. When we speak of what the centrum must necessarily do, we must realize that none of the so-called systemic measures, nor the best management from the centrum, will have an automatic impact, that they will resolve all problems under local conditions. To believe that we will have an ideal plan in which everything will be completely guaranteed, that it will not be necessary to exert an immense organizational effort in resolving all problems, such as reducing production cost, raising labor productivity, etc., is to harbor illusions, and we should not succumb to illusions.

This, then, is the other side of the coin which we call exactingness. Its higher degree must apply not only to the centrum and central bodies, but must apply to the work of kraj, okres, plant, and basic party organizations in economic management from top to bottom.

In another portion of his address, Alois Indra spoke of the quality of work.

We have named this 5-year plan as the 5-year plan of effectiveness and quality of work. In your report you provide data on the damage caused by poor-quality labor which is causing us enormous economic, political and trade losses. It is often averred that the cause of poor-quality labor is the poor quality of furnished available materials, the poor quality of spare parts, etc. In other words, he **who delivers** the product is as pure as snow. If this is so, what is the purpose of controls, what is the purpose of the union organizations, or the technical control sections? Is there conscience and awareness of responsibility among workers and technicians in a given plant? Why are we consciously--and I mean consciously--producing poor-quality or low-quality goods? For whom? Who benefits by it? Are we doing this to meet volume tasks, to get premiums, to increase our own share in economic achievements, or in the interest of society?

But let us not speak of quality alone. There are many other things which depend directly on our work, on the level of management, e.g., delivery deadlines, maintenance service, spare parts. Whether I like it or not, by virtue of my function as chairman of the Federal Assembly, I must travel. What we have to listen to on the subject of our shortcomings, even in the so-called developing countries. The customer at home or abroad is not at all interested in what objective or other difficulties we have. The customer is entitled to, wants to and, what's more, has the opportunity to choose the best product for the most acceptable price.

Member of the CPCZ Presidium, Alois Indra, commented on the problems of work shifts.

I realize that it is more pleasant to work day or afternoon shifts. What if all those workers sorely needed by society came to the same conclusion? For instance, metallurgists in uninterrupted operations, railroad workers, health care personnel, and so on. What will this society look like when even these people decide to work only one shift? The best progress in terms of shifts is noted in the so-called women's enterprises where the heavy majority of employees are women. In engineering plants where the majority are men, we have been unable to move forward in this problem.

It is obviously useless to increase shifts by leaving the entire machine park in the plant and split up those people we have available. No one is suggesting such a system, for it would gain us nothing; but there are possibilities: Get rid of older and less productive machinery and use the most modern types for two or three shifts!

In this connection, it is worth considering what to do about the great increase in overtime and special Saturday, possibly Sunday, shifts.

We are witnessing great selflessness in many people; beware, however, lest hidden behind it we find organizational shortcomings. Let us also compute what all this is costing us and what the economic impact is; the same applies in fuels and energy conservation. This year we have noted good results throughout the country; much has been done following the unfortunate experiences of the first weeks of this year. Certainly, many comrades have seen the light. Let us not, however, overestimate what has been achieved because this has not been a normal year. Part of the energy economizing accounts for non-fulfillment of production tasks, moreover, there is an interesting indicator in the forms of a survey of electric energy consumption. Thus, there is no significant improvement.

Comrade Indra then took a stand on some problems in agriculture.

This year had an impact on the yield of grain and production of fodder on arable land, as well as on the potato harvest, and so forth. One question lingers though: How is it that some fulfill their tasks, while others do not? This is indeed a mystery. The answer must come from ourselves alone; we simply cannot evade the demand for higher exactingness of labor. It is my impression that many specialists, and able ones, whose provenance is naturally somewhere else, are burying themselves in all sorts of papers; they themselves do not originate them. The need of really getting into the cooperatives, working directly with people, assessing the situation on the spot, has been given little attention.

There are many small matters which lead to mutual harrassment. Let us note how workers in some national committees, housing enterprises, mass transportation, and services, act toward their fellow citizens, how they treat them, how hard they try to satisfy of not satisfy their justified or unjustified demands.

A custom has taken root in our society that as soon as someone is appointed to a position, he feels more important than the others, and immediately this person tries to show off to his fellow citizens in some way.

Comrade Indra then spoke on the subject of socialist competition.

I hope you will not suspect me of underestimating the enormous and literally irreplaceable importance of socialist competition, or that I do not value people's selflessness. But I must say, however, that percentages of competition participants and figures on the number of socialist labor brigades do not reflect what is actually happening in some places. "Better less but better" should be a slogan applied to socialist competition. Less publicity, such as newsreels, and less cheating of our own pockets. Rather than glowing reports of pledges, we need better competition targeting and better organization of pledge fulfillment and control.

We must also say openly and at every opportunity that we must, in all respects, strengthen citizen discipline in this country. On the one hand, we witness truly precious selflessness and work discipline, while on the other, we waste a great amount of time through carelessness. Again, I could stress the so-called women's enterprises because there labor organization is somewhat different but let us consider, for instance, consumption of electric energy in morning shifts at the time of a major international of domestic ice hockey tournament, when machines are switched on, rest breaks are not observed, and early departures from or shortening of shifts, and so on are not uncommon.

Even in socialism, however, the inexorable principle of "no cake without work" is valid. It is important, in the interest of strengthening discipline, not to succumb to general criticism of economic managers: Among them are many without whom our successes would have remained unattainable. They sacrifice their health to their jobs and neglect their own families. On the other hand, there are many people who deserve to be criticized. But let us not generalize, let us not throw them all on the same heap. We should not praise in generalities, neither should we criticize in that manner.

We have all joined the party voluntarily and thus have, of our own free will, pledged to meet party responsibilities. We proclaim that we are members of a politically-organized vanguard of the working class, as well as of other working people. We have the right to demand of communists that they reject the so-called moods of hopelessness, that they struggle against demagogy, that they resolve problems at their own work sites first, and that they serve as an example in the struggle against shortcomings.

Our party has demonstrated what it can do, and that it has all the prerequisites to lead the people forward to future successes. Loyalty to our cause, and the depth of communist conviction is not on trial when the sun shines and the road is dry; in such circumstances it is easy to march in step: It is when problems arise that we see what we are and how many of us stand up to be counted.

The tasks and methods of achieving them are known. Even though, as decreed at the last plenum, the pace of economic development in 1980 is somewhat slower, this does not mean that it will be some sort of a year of rest. On the contrary, it will be a year which will demand of us much concentrated effort because, among other things, we have to prepare better conditions for the Seventh 5-Year Plan. Implementation of Central Committee resolutions, adopted by kraj and okres committees, will depend solely and exclusively on our work.

In accordance with what was said in Comrade Pitra's address and with what was heard in discussion, I want to repeat that if we are united in the struggle to overcome shortcomings, I am certain we will measure up to the task. Unity in the party is possible only on the basis of the 15th congress resolutions. No one who calls this party his own can deviate from this. Unity based on these resolutions, unity with the Central Committee and its Presidium, is the basic condition for a successful struggle against shortcomings. It is also the basic condition for good preparation of our party for the 16th congress.

HOFFMANN ADDRESSES SLOVAK TRADE UNION COUNCIL

AU251434 Prague PRACE in Czech 24 Jan 80 p 4 AU

[Speech by Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, at the eighth plenary session of the Slovak Trade Union Council, in Bratislava on 15 January]

[Excerpts] To Tap All Reserves in Initiative and Competition

You have already spoken here about our reserves. I would only like to outline a few examples from the Slovak Socialist Republic. It is certainly gratifying--and you are rightly proud of it--that in shift intensity the regions of the Slovak Socialist Republic are among the best regions in our state. It is true that Bratislava holds the sixth place, but the other three regions hold the top three places. [paragraph continues]

That is natural, in view of the nature of the basic assets Slovakia has at its disposal. It is important to take notice, however, of the fact that in utilization of the working hours in industry, the ranking of the Slovak regions is worse: They rank somewhere in the middle of our 10 regions and 2 capital cities. Even more serious food for thought should be provided by utilization of working hours in the construction industry, where your regions are at the end of the all-state list of our regions. You yourselves know what a huge reserve is represented in better utilization of working hours.

As for working initiative and socialist competition, it is good--and I would like to express appreciation for it--that the Slovak regions also hold the foremost places in the republic when it comes to the number of participants in competition and the number of personal pledges. That also applies to the development of the movement of brigades and to the percentage of the working people participating in those brigades in efforts to improve the quality of work, for a socialist style of work and for a socialist way of life. As to the quality of the competition, however, we are not satisfied: There is plenty of formalism and too many shortcomings. Nevertheless, the very data on the involvement of the working people in the individual forms of development of initiative and of competition demonstrates the standard of educational work and the level of our influence among the working people. That, too, indicates the quality of the trade union activity.

Speaking of reserves, allow me to draw your attention to the fact that it is probably no accident and merits special attention that at present the Slovak Socialist Republic and its regions are at the very end of the list in the CSSR in the comprehensive rationalization brigade. You have certainly taken note of what was said in this respect at the seventh plenary session of the Central Council of Trade Unions and the way in which the 14th Central Committee session of the party discussed the development of science and technology and their application. Perhaps never before has the need to develop that movement and to combine the brains and the efforts of workers, technicians, work collectives and the brigades of socialist labor been as urgent as it is today, in present conditions, when we are waging a tenacious struggle for raising the quality of our products, for better use of raw materials, other materials, energy and the like. In the Slovak Socialist Republic the movement, however, still lies outside the people's attention and the working people's share in solving the serious problems with which we are grappling is not evident in it to a sufficient extent. I am asking you, comrades, to pay attention to that issue at all levels, especially in the basic organizations.

We are convinced that the development of the comprehensive rationalization brigades is one of the ways in which the trade unions can substantially contribute to the solution of the tasks stipulated by the party and to the achievement of the militant tasks in the economy that we set for ourselves at the seventh plenary session of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

The Importance of Collective Contracts and Production Consultations

When speaking of reserves, let us also take a look at the use we are making of instruments such as collective contracts or production consultations. I suggest that because in some Slovak regions there are substantially fewer plant collective contracts than would correspond to the norms and the needs of the development of our work collectives and to the needs concerning the use of collective contracts.

Speaking of trade union work, allow me to mention one more example of reserves, reserves which undoubtedly exist and which--at some places directly, at others indirectly--influence the results of our work. What I have in mind is the attention paid to the preparation of functionaries of the revolutionary trade union movement. It is surely startling that in Bratislava and the Slovak regions the percentage of functionaries for whom we made it possible to undergo at least elementary schooling is so low that, from an all-republic point of view, the Slovak regions hold the following places: Bratislava 12th, West and Central Slovakia jointly 10th and 11th and East Slovakia 9th; that is the last four places in the list of regions. I do not want to draw any general conclusions from that fact but we all know, based on our own experience, that the degree of our preparedness for our work--our familiarity with certain theoretical findings or practical experiences and our ability to implement them in our activity--is not irrelevant.

OIL IMPORTS CURTAILED; DEPENDENCE ON COAL INCREASES

LD232348 Prague CTK in English 1715 GMT 23 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Prague--Czechoslovakia will have to meet two-thirds of the future increases in the consumption of fuels and energy from domestic resources. The share of imported fuels in total consumption will begin to decline after 1980.

Since 1960, consumption of oil, oil products and natural gas increased more than sevenfold, but the rising prices on world markets make it necessary for Czechoslovakia, just as most of the other countries, to reduce the impact of the price rises to the minimum. This will also entail changing the structure of oil consumption in the national economy. Priority will be given to the necessary expansion of the petrochemical industry and transport.

In the 7th five-year plan period (1981-1985), Soviet oil supplies will remain on the 1980 level, the other necessary quantities will be purchased on capitalist markets. The natural gas supplies situation has been adversely affected by the fact that (?from 1980 to) 1985, no imports from Iran can be assumed. Industrial production will have priority in natural gas consumption.

Domestic fuels, especially of inferior quality, will be used to the maximum degree for the production of electricity and heat. The basic resource of the Czechoslovak fuels and energy balance will be brown coal, whose output is to be raised by 4-6 million metric tonnes in 1981-1985, and to reach a total of 104-106 million tonnes.

Most of the increase will come from the North Bohemian brown coal deposits which are the only ones in Czechoslovakia capable of expansion.

Reconstruction and opening of coal mines will absorb almost 14 percent of all investments into industry. The amount will be 43 per cent higher than in the current five-year plan period, 1976-1980.

The plans for the 1980's also assume ever higher consumption of energy generated by nuclear power plants. The increase for 1981-1985 is to be about 13,000 million kilowatt hours.

CARTER INCREASES MILITARY'S SHARE OF BUDGET

DW281339 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1108 GMT 28 Jan 80 DW

[Hermann Burghardt commentary]

[Text] U.S. President Carter has submitted to Congress the draft budget for 1981, presenting it as a savings budget because it envisages an increase of only 9.3 percent in expenditures as opposed to an inflation rate of 13.3 percent. Carter, however, practices economy only in social expenditures, in the educational system, in the industries not related to arms and in the agricultural sphere. The agricultural budget is being reduced from $6.2 to $4.6 billion; in addition, $800 million are earmarked for farmers affected by the ban on grain exports to the Soviet Union--an expenditure resulting from Carter's policy of cold war.

The core of the budget is the military expenditures. In 1981, 23.3 cents out of every dollar spent by the U.S. Government will be used for armament because, in consideration of inflation, there will be a real 5.4 percent increase in the military budget to a total of $143 billion. A regular increase of up to $225 billion is envisaged until 1985. Thus, there is no savings budget in the arms sector. Defense Secretary Brown already has presented the new budget to the public as a budget of the policy of strength. What carries particular weight for Washington is the setting up of a quick reaction force of 100,000 men which in times of crisis is to enable the deployment of American military power all over the world. This requires new, extra-heavy air transports and new supply ships. An additional $1.5 billion is earmarked for 1981 for development costs for the MX missile, which is to form the backbone of the U.S. nuclear armed forces. The overall project is the most costly envisaged by Carter. It will swallow up $33 billion within the next 10 years. This year, $14.8 billion are still available for additional new technologies, including the development of laser weapons.

President Carter, who to a large degree had been elected because of his promise that military expenditures would be curbed during his presidency, quite obviously has broken the promise to his voters. What has been prepared on a long-term basis by the ruling forces in the United States is being implemented by him with the aggravation of tensions in international relations. The domestic effects of his foreign policy line are distinctly reflected in the new budget.

U.S., PRC ESTABLISH ANTI-AFGHAN 'GANGS' IN PAKISTAN

LD290016 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 2140 GMT 28 Jan 80 LD

[Correspondent Thomas Silberstein report]

[Excerpt] Kabul--Naturally, dear listeners, the counterrevolutionary forces led by imperialism have not yet renounced their dangerous game. This can be seen from, among other things, a report from the northern part of Afghanistan where an armed gang of terrorists has just been wiped out by the Afghan Army. It is no secret that new counterrevolutionary gangs are being set up and armed with the support of the United States and the Beijing leadership on the territory of neighboring Pakistan. Thus there naturally remains a need for numerous security measures everywhere in the country, as well as here in the capital, Kabul.

MSZMP'S HORN REVIEWS U.S. POLICY, INTERNATIONAL 'TENSION'

LD281512 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 27 Jan 80 LD

[Interview with Gyula Horn, deputy chief of the MSZMP Central Committee's Department of International Relations, by unnamed interviewer of the "This Week" program, conducted at the "This Week" television studios; date not specified--recorded]

[Text] [Question] To start off, how do you view the international situation now, in 1980?

[Answer] It is undoubtedly much more complicated than at any time in the decade of the seventies. There is much more tension, especially from the point of view of detente, if we take into account that there has been a high degree of deterioration in Soviet-American relations, which is detrimental to the continuation of peaceful coexistence. Because of the balance of strength and mutual endeavors, this does not at all mean that detente is finished and that the cold war has begun, nor in the least that peaceful coexistence is at an end and that real war is at hand. All that has taken place very recently certainly gives rise to much anxiety. I believe that above all a very vigorous endeavor is becoming manifest (?in) the United States to change the world situation and through this the change in the balance of forces which began in previous years.

[Question] You say that such endeavors on the part of the United States became manifest in previous years whereas the SALT II agreement was signed in Vienna barely 7 months ago. At that time we all thought that detente was an unstoppable process and that the eighties would run in the spirit of further expanding detente and that economic contacts would further increase. All of us hoped that the world would develop in this direction but it was not to be. Has there been a change in the balance of forces, or what happened?

[Answer] There probably has not been a change in the balance of forces as the mutual destruction ability of the two world systems--including the Warsaw Pact nations and NATO--has resulted in mutual dependence, i.e. in the political, military interests to hold negotiations. Regrettably, mutual trust, or on our part, trust in the United States and NATO, has decreased recently significantly, especially if we consider the signing of SALT II, as you mentioned. There was much hope that SALT II would be ratified after June. [words indistinct] a great debate unfolded on the pretext of the so-called Cuban issue, the presence of Soviet military advisers in Cuba, and this left the fate of SALT II totally uncertain. Then if I may point to another factor which also decreased trust: NATO resolved to produce and deploy medium-range weapons and rejected all proposals on the necessity of immediate negotiations with respect to this, at least until the month of December.

[Question] As is well known, 1980 is an election year in the United States. There are those who believe that President Carter roots his foreign policy moves and his hawkish statements in the fact that he would like to be reelected and that most of his statements are aimed at the domestic market, the citizens of the United States, who at the time of the presidential elections like so-called hard-fisted men. What is your opinion on this?

[Answer] There is certainly a great measure of truth in this, but in my opinion this is only conjecture. What we are talking about is that Carter in effect announced a new military program last Wednesday, to insure the so-called strategic interests of the United States everywhere through military presence in the oil producing and other energy source regions.

This is a military program which in practice further increases tension, but it did not begin just now. There were endeavors and moves in this direction earlier. This is dangerous for two reasons, partly because it causes renewed tension in areas where American naval carriers or other military moves appear. This is manifest in the largescale military assistance to Pakistan, which is controlled by an extremely dictatorial regime. This could create very serious military tensions in all regions or countries.

[Question] My next question is related to this. Does this new American military doctrine mean that the situation will be even more tense in the Middle East, in southwest Asia, and in the aforementioned regions of Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, especially if we take into account the fact that not only the United States but also China and the United Kingdom are beginning deliveries of weapons to Pakistan? Is there not a danger that the situation here will become extremely tense as the Western countries argue that a large part of the capitalist world's oil supply originates from there and this is what they want to defend? What developments can one envisage there, in your opinion?

[Answer] The United States is justifying this new military with the fact that the Soviet Union has lent military assistance to Afghanistan. The American leadership has expressed similar ideas before. It has always brought them up, since the time of events in Angola. As far as Afghanistan is concerned, the system of the people's democratic revolution has always been in a state of struggle since 25 April 1978, against reactionary, terrorist and other activities supported both internally, and externally. The Soviet Union lent assistance on the basis of the bilateral interstate agreement currently in force just as it lends assistance to people's liberation movements fighting against very harsh, colonial or military regimes and dictatorships. Progressive forces including the socialist countries have lent multilateral assistance, including military aid to Mozambique, Angola and elsewhere. In this they are not endangering the strategic interests of the Unites States or the Western world. [sentence indistinct]

[Question] Given these circumstances, many would like to know about the fate of further negotiations which worked in favor of the detente process. Will the negotiations end? As I have said, many fear and are full of anxiety about the advent of cold war and perhaps a world war to follow? It is true, however, that one can see day by day that the enemy is not completely united as the opinions of the United States and Western Europe for instance, to mention our immediate neighbors, differ greatly on many important questions.

[Answer] The situation is tense. Indeed [words indistinct] the United States has called for a boycott of the Olympics. Even in the coldest situations--at the time of the cold war between 1948 and 1956--there was no question of making participation in the Olympics dependent on events in East-West relations.

[Question] Especially not to transfer them, or not to hold them.

[Answer] Yes. Two factors prove that Western Europe cannot support or follow the United States, with the exception of Britain perhaps. One can say anything about this British Government, except that it is a devoted adherent of detente, either now or before. First, they are linked by very important, serious economic and political interests to the development of East-West relations. The interests of security play a great role in this. Within the framework of the balance of forces in East-West relations, the issue of security is comprehensive and indivisible.

Should any significant changes take place in this field, this greatly threatens Western Europe, as it does the immediate vicinity of Eastern Europe. Second, in the economic field, an armaments program for them is a more tense situation. A further great wave, costing a great deal, and the growth of military expenditures draws resources from the solution of the inflationary spiral, causing a more uncertain economic situation and, last but not least, social tension, which is significant both in the United States and Western Europe.

[Question] On other issues, will Hungary feel the political or economic consequences of the measures which the United States has initiated against the Soviet Union? Have they started something against us? Have they done something against us? Or do we know that something like this is being prepared against Hungary?

[Answer] There have not been any such steps so far and we hope that there will be none in the future, either. In practice, nearly all our capitalist partners have expressed willingness in their activities and said it looks as if they will continue cooperation and the development of contacts. There are two very important matters here also. First, we are (?together) with the rest of the socialist countries and this relates to the question of contacts, so that negotiations aiming to reduce military tension should continue to seek the possibility of preventing implementation of the resolution on deployment of medium-range missiles in Western Europe. This is a very important issue. From the point of view of the European situation overall, I would like to emphasize that European political relations in recent years have not changed. They are in practice the same as they were during the period of the most spectacular results of detente, even if the dangers have increased looking at Europe. Second, the process of detente, our interest in detente, belongs to our most basic interests. From this starting point we have neither practical nor theoretical reasons to withdraw. Moreover, we are planning in the forthcoming period to have and to continue high-level contacts with the United States and other Western countries in political, economic, scientific, technical and other areas, according to agreements made thus far.

[Question] To sum up, how can we respond to the anxiety of public opinion?

[Answer] I would answer that, in my opinion, neither the people nor the Government of the United States want war, nor do the peoples and governments of Western Europe. I would like to recall that there is a very definite statement in Carter's speech on Wednesday that during the current tense situation even more careful attention will be paid to the observance of Soviet-American military and strategic agreements than ever before. This is based on the reality that the balance of forces between the two world systems has not changed. The other is that there is in a significant part of the capitalist world even on the subjective side the willingness of politicians to continue the policy of detente, to ward off the really increasing dangers which threaten detente and peaceful coexistence. This is of mutual interest and in my opinion we will choose this path of progress.

CORRESPONDENT VIEWS IRANIAN LEADERSHIP, FUTURE RELATIONS

ID270047 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 26 Jan 80 ID

["168 Hours--Political Magazine" program]

[Text] Everyone naturally has an opinion concerning the situation in Iran.

We were therefore particularly interested in the views of a journalist who returned from Iran just before yesterday's presidential elections. Szabolcz Udvarhelyi has thus interviewed NEPSZABADSAG correspondent Andras Kanyo: [begin recording]

[Question] It is often said that production in Iran has just about stopped altogether. I read in a Western paper that 60 percent of Iran's oil revenues are devoted to non-productive purposes, including unemployment benefits.

[Answer] The factories are presently working at approximately 60 percent of full capacity. This is somewhat below the level attained before the changes. Demonstrations generally take place on Friday. Friday is of course the Muslim Sabbath. In any case, the demonstrators are mainly young people, students and schoolchildren. With regard to the financial situation of the country, the oil revenues and so on, the situation is that the current value of production is about $80-90 million per day, depending on the price at any one time and the output on any one day. The chairman of the national bank has said that it is quite true that a significant proportion of this sum goes for daily expenditures, in other words, on such everyday items as bread, sugar, salt and so on. In Iran the minimum wage is the equivalent of $9-9.5 per day. This is something that everyone must receive. There is indeed such a thing as unemployment benefits. This is one of the great achievements of the new regime.

[Question] Nonetheless, many people assert that there is no government in Iran, in other words, that the centers of power are so diffuse that the country has become almost ungovernable. The reports of constant riots in the areas inhabited by the national minorities are part of this.

[Answer] Before any major decision is taken Ayatollah Khomeyni must be consulted and his approval is needed for all important measures. This is true of all questions relating to the national minorities, as well as for other decisions. Incidentally, the situation in the areas inhabited by the national minorities is very serious indeed. There are various indications and even documentary evidence showing that both in Kordestan and in Azarbayjan, and even in the areas in the south, neighboring on Iraq, one has to expect interference from certain external forces.

The national minorities are being incited against the central authorities, against the revolutionary regime, with the aim of separating them from the rest of Iran. Recently it seems that a more united view has begun to emerge with regard to a solution of the nationality question, and let me add that the Iranian Communist Party, the Tudeh Party, has played a significant part in this. It has worked out a plan for settling the problems with Iraq and Azarbayjan. This plan has been approved by Khomeyni and his associates, and the present negotiations are being carried out on the basis of this plan.

[Question] Well, as we are talking of the communist party, let me ask you, does it not seem strange that the communist party is supporting a leadership which bases itself on a religious ideology?

[Answer] This stance is based on the realities of the situation. The reality is that in Iran at present the line represented by Khomeyni can be regarded as the most progressive tendency in Iran. This tendency is fundamentally anti-imperialist and anti-American. It aims at achieving certain progressive social changes. Programs of this sort are not only approved of but also instigated by Khomeyni.

[Question] It is unquestionably true that the Iranian leadership is strongly anti-American. However, even if less emphasized, there is a certain anti-Soviet attitude that can also be observed in the statements made by certain leaders. For example, we have heard reports that armed men went from Iran to Afghanistan to support the counterrevolutionaries. Is this just some sort of local initiative, or does the central leadership of Iran hold anti-Afghan or anti-Soviet sentiments?

[Answer] As for the first half of this question, on relations between Iran and the Soviet Union, I gained some fairly strong evidence on this during my stay in Tehran. I had conversations with a number of people on this topic. I asked a secretary of state the reason for the anti-Soviet attitude of the Iranian leadership. He immediately asked me why I thought that it was so anti-Soviet. I said, well, for example, you do not deliver gas to the Soviet Union. The secretary of state asked me where I had read this--was it in NEWSWEEK or TIME magazine? I said that it was probably in one or the other. Well, said the secretary of state, that is the problem. You should have asked us.

The fact is that we do deliver gas to the Soviet Union, albeit at a higher price. We have one contentious issue, namely the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. We do not agree with this. We stated this in the 10-point government statement which was issued by the minister of foreign affairs. Our position has not changed on this issue, but, apart from this, Soviet-Iranian relations are good.

As for relations between Iran and Afghanistan, the question of whether or not Iranians give support to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries is quite justified. It is quite true that various armed groups go from Iran, from Baluchistan, to Afghanistan in order to support the counterrevolutionaries there. I asked another leading statesman about this and he told me that while Iran did not maintain relations with Afghanistan as it had done before, and while it would not engage in negotiations in the near future on the basis of the proposals by Babrak Karmal, relations could be settled once the situation became settled in Afghanistan.

[Question] Is it the case, however, that the difficulties of the Iranian economy--which is fundamentally linked to the Western economy--as well as the fact of the Soviet help for Afghanistan, are impelling the Iranian leadership to try to improve relations with the West, particularly with the United States?

[Answer] The present situation cannot be regarded as permanent, of course. Accordingly, Iranian-American relations will, some time in the future, up to a certain point, become normalized once more. This is particularly so with regard to economic relations. Whether political, interstate relations can also return to the same level which they attained during the reign of the shah--this is something that I regard as very unlikely.

The present Iranian leadership, including Khomeyni, the Islamic Revolution Council and the host of young men--albeit with Western education--who are grouped around Khomeyni, have a fundamentally anti-American outlook and do not wish to restore the old relations, even though they believe that once the question of the hostages has been settled relations can be normalized at some point in the future and at a certain level, that is, as long as the United States refrains from trying to return to the old methods. [end recording]

ADDITIONAL COVERAGE OF RESPONSE TO AFGHAN SITUATION

MAGYAR NEMZET on PRC

LD221150 Budapest MTI in English 1035 GMT 22 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Budapest, January 22 (MTI)--The political commentary of MAGYAR NEMZET, the paper of the Patriotic People's Front, in its Tuesday issue, deals with the situation and present role of Pakistan.

The developments in Iran and the changes begun with the revolution in Afghanistan have increased the role of Pakistan. The wide network of training centres for Afghan diversionaries and terrorists was established on the area of Pakistan with the direct participation of Washington (and Beijing). A few diversionary units, before being thrown over the Afghan areas, received training directly at the barracks of the Pakistani military garrison. All these are unquestionably proven by documents captured at the crushing of the diversionary units.

Not only Washington discovered the strategic importance of Pakistan on the basis of the Afghan development but many allies of the United States and China as well, which is spoken of as the 16th member of NATO. China, acknowledgedly, is an old supplier of arms to Pakistan. From the second half of the 1960's, it gradually stepped into the "shoes" of the United States and Western commentators bring into connection the atomic armament of Pakistan as well with its close relations to China. Being fully aware of the important strategic situation of Afghanistan, following the December 27, 1979, Afghan changes, China increased its deliveries of arms at a rapid pace through the so-called Karakorum roadway connection the west Chinese city of Urumchi with Islamabad. The Chinese also increased their activity on the total length of the 85 kilometre Chinese-Afghan border and Chinese Armed Forces regularly penetrate to Afghan areas.

The economic life of Pakistan shows a disquieting picture in these months. The country's balance of payments struggles with great deficit, inflation raves. The currency reserves are diminishing. President General Ziaul Haq, for some time now, can keep his power only by using the means of emergency state. Amongst such circumstances it obviously finds the assistance proposals arriving from the most various directions to be alluring. However, the Pakistani general tries to make Washington understand that it hopes to receive economic assistance, and a large one at that, rather than military assistance. On the other hand it tries to persuade its neighbors, primarily India, that Pakistan no longer has aggressive intentions, particularly not with India, which is significantly greater than its neighbour. "If one is on the sea, one should not quarrel with the whales," argued the general recently.

The feverish diplomatic activity which arose around Pakistan, the great quantities of arms delivered to Pakistan have so far twice led to military conflicts on the Hindustan peninsula. On this occasion as well, it draws that realistic conclusion that the delicate military balance in this area of the world can tip over--writes MAGYAR NEMZET in its Tuesday commentary.

NEPSZABADSAG on Olympic Boycott

LD231122 Budapest MTI in English 1040 GMT 23 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Budapest, January 23 (MTI)--"From among the most recently announced steps of the American Government, maybe none received such wide uproar as that which calls on boycotting this year's Moscow Olympic games...."

"Even in the years of the sharpest international opposition that unwritten rule was acknowledged: The Olympics, which have to serve the understanding and peace of the peoples, have to be kept far from the waves of daily politics. Those who now break with this endanger not only the Moscow Olympics, but the Olympic games themselves," stresses the Wednesday issue of NEPSZABADSAG, which comments on the boycott-summons of President Carter in an article entitled "Olympiad and Politics".

In the following the Budapest paper refers to the condemning standpoint of the international sports public opinion, leading politicians of a number of countries of the world concerning the Carter-proposal, then points out:

"It seems that--in a peculiar way--it is precisely this step which prompts many responsible Western politicians to think over once again the complete Washington measure-package--primarily because of its striking irrationality. Those West European politicians who have connected their activity with detente, observed with unconcealed and increasing anxiety the deviation of Washington from the paths of reality even before the latest decision of the White House. They established as a fact: Carter--even before the boycott summons--turned against none other than that Carter, who spoke of the unconditional priority of SALT and who said that he shall never use food as a weapon of the elections".

The central organ of the HSWP points out in the following that the attempts to boycott the Olympics--similarly to the previous Washington measures--are aimed at undermining international detente and at the same time form an organic part of Carter's election manoeuvres.

"The advising staff influencing the White House has decided, according to signs, that public opinion can be lined up behind the Presidential candidate-President only if they produce that 'peril' which endangers the security of the nation, and what else can better contribute to establishing this false consciousness of being threatened than if they bring such measures which are unprecedented. They will boycott the Olympics, and for wringing out a similar decision from their allies they use not negligible pressure?"

"In reality the cynical anti-Olympics campaign has nothing to do with Afghanistan. It is aimed at such political-psychological factors inseparable from detente--primarily here in Europe--as mutual trust and feeling of security. Thus it is the interest of not only the sport loving public opinion but of the whole peace loving humanity that in this question common sense, intellect get the upper hand even there where now the American pressure's complete weight prevails. It is a mutual interest that on July 19, at the Lenin Stadium in Moscow, the Olympic flame begin to glow," stresses in conclusion the central paper of the HSWP.

NEPSZABADSAG on Political History

LD171328 Budapest MTI in English 1100 GMT 17 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Budapest, January 17 (MTI)--"The Party and the Renewal of the Leadership" is the title of an Afghanistan-related article published in Thursday's NEPSZABADSAG.

There are few states in the world where the popular revolution inherited such grave conditions from feudalism as in Afghanistan, says the article.

Even in the early 1970's the majority of the people lived in medieval backwardness, the country had no large-scale industry and the rural population lingered in serfdom. The per capita national income did not reach 100 dollars a year. Illiteracy was more than 80 percent and the average life-span only 38 years.

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan founded 15 years ago on January 1, 1965 on the basis of international revolutionary ideology rose to fight these circumstances. Unfortunately, sharp debates occured within the party regarding the tactics to be followed and came to lead to a split already in 1967. In the years that followed, however, they carried on a joint struggle to topple the monarchy and the fight, though the debates held on, was crowned with success in 1973. The monarchy was overthrown.

The incoming government of Mohammed Daud launched a progressive program which it failed to carry out. It adopted terrorist measures in a bid to prevent the revolutionary forces from rushing forth. Nevertheless, the fight continued and triumphed in April 1978. There emerged the new people's power with Taraki as head of state and government and Babrak as his deputy in both offices. But it was soon that the disputes had sharpened again concerning the pace and methods of proceeding farther ahead.

The disputes and the ways of "settling" them gradually became dominated by Hafizollah Amin, whose careerist traits combined with intriguing faculties and authoritarian ambitions were quick to take shape in his possession of power.

The party made important decisions against Amin's authoritarian line back in July of 1979. It launched the people's front policy, stepped up preparations for the Constitution and pressed for the observance of law and order. This line was presented by President Taraki in the first place, but Amin removed him from power by an armed coup and had him assassinated.

Under Amin's rule, the party's unity was undermined, its mass bases weakened and the reputation of the revolution was gravely maltreated. All this played no small part in the gaining ground of internal counter-revolutionary forces.

What happened induced the leaders loyal to the revolutionary ideas, the party's Central Committee, including its members called back from abroad, to take a crucial step? As a result of their well-organized activities, the Central Committee, the Revolutionary Council and the government deposed Amin from his illegally seized party and state functions, put him on emergency trial (he was condemned to death and executed) and set to eliminate the distortions.

The reshuffled leadership turned to the Soviet Union--by strength of a treaty effective since December 1978--for help to avert the dangerous attack from outside. Aware of the grave situation, the Soviet Union gave the assistance asked for, fulfilling its contractual obligation.

The re-organized party and state leadership with Babrak Karmal heading it, has set to rooting out the aftermath of Amin's tyranny. The illegally imprisoned captives have been released. The aim set is to call into being a broad people's front encompassing all the country's political, social and religious organizations, in order to wage a common fight against counter-revolution and create the conditions of peace and social welfare, concludes the article in NEPSZABADSAG.

MAGYARORSZAG on Detente

LD181927 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 18 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Budapest, January 18 (MTI)--"Has the period of detente ended? The question is well-grounded since we can be the witnesses of one of the most extreme imperialist counter-attacks in the period after the Second World War," writes the newest issue of MAGYARORSZAG, the foreign affairs weekly, in its editorial commenting on the developments of the international situation.

The Budapest weekly reveals that the strength relations between the two world systems in the 1970s developed in such a way that the process of transformation of relations between the states could unfold on new, healthy bases.

"This regrouping obviously increased the weight of those world political forces which took the side of peace, security and cooperation in the international arena. On the other hand it damaged the position of those who, because of their political and economic interests, were the followers of maintaining war tension," emphasizes MAGYARORSZAG, and points out that parallel with this detente process--and in close interaction with it--revolutionary changes have taken place in the various points of the world in the past years, which on the basis of the intensification of the internal contradictions of the given countries and areas, came about as the result of the clash of the forces there. These changes promoted the cause of social progress and national independence throughout the world, and with this they drove back the endeavours of reaction and neo-colonization.

"The simultaneous advancement of the (?detente) and progress process--to the great satisfaction of the people of the world--exercised a more and more favourable effect on the world situation, and it more and more worried the extreme circles of imperialism which yearned not only for their lost positions but saw even their existing positions endangered. This is what launched them on the sharp counter-attack, which is almost becoming degenerated to the point of some sort of new variation of cold war, and thus we arrive at the present, when [words indistinct] states freezes the SALT II agreement, discontinues the talks on a (?number of topical) questions of the Soviet-American relation, 'retaliating' the lawful Soviet assistance provided for the new Afghanistan," writes the weekly, then on the basis of analysing the international situation of the past decade and of our days, calls attention to the following experiences:

"First of all we can realize that detente and progress have subsisted on the strength relations which developed in certain countries and in international measures, and this is its vital (?source today) and in the future as well. Consequently all those who sharply oppose these processes try to resist the objectively operative factors of world (?politics).

Secondly we can be convinced of the fact that in reality not Afghanistan, that is not the events which took place there, increase international tension," emphasizes the Budapest weekly [words indistinct] statement of Leonid Brezhnev in his interview given to PRAVDA, according to which: If there wouldn't be Afghanistan then the United States, the determined circles of NATO would have in all probability found some other pretext for sharpening the world situation.

"Behind this statement, the general secretary of the CPSU pointed out a whole line of facts.

"Since NATO accepted the automatic increase of the member countries' military budgets lasting until the end of the 20th century not now, but already in 1978, and the decision for the new round of the armaments race, the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe was decided upon also well before the present events, and the 'hawks' in Washington and Beijing were placed on a joint platform not because of (?the Afghan) events but because of the joint interests of anti-Soviet, anti-detente strategic conjunction. But that is also an important experience--which was unfortunately previously proved by the Chile (?tragedy)--that as soon as the people take into their own hands the management of their own fate and independence, step on the road of freedom, then their enemies immediately find allies in certain circles of imperialist powers and China. This was what happened in the Near East as well...," writes MAGYARORSZAG, then emphasizes in conclusion:

"In today's situation giving rise to no little anxiety there is, however, an extremely reassuring experience as well, (?and that) is the calm, self-assured, realistic and guided by really large-power responsibility [words indistinct] of the Soviet Union.

KADAR SENDS GET WELL MESSAGE TO TITO

LD172102 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1437 GMT 17 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade--President Tito continues to receive telegrams in which statesmen and distinguished personalities from around the world wish him speedy recovery.

Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee sent the following telegram to Comrade Tito:

"Dear Comrade Tito, on behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee and on my own behalf, I am sending you cordial greetings and best wishes. I wish you to resume as soon as possible, in good health, your responsible work for the prosperity of neighboring Socialist Yugoslavia and for the further strengthening of friendship between our peoples."

BRIEFS

NEW UK AMBASSADOR--Budapest, January 23 (MTI)--Rezso Trautmann, vice-president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, received on Wednesday Bryan George Cartledge, the new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in Hungary, who presented his credentials. Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister Janos Nagy was also present at the presentation of credentials. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1021 GMT 24 Jan 80 LD]

NEW HUNGARIAN AMBASSADORS--Budapest, January 23 (MTI)--Laszlo Dirda, accredited ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic in Guinea-Bissau, presented his credentials to head of state Luis Cabral. Elek Toth, accredited ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic in Ethiopia, presented his credentials to head of state Mengistu Haile Mariam. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1021 GMT 24 Jan 80 LD]

SLOWO POWSZECHNE ON CARTER'S STATE OF UNION MESSAGE

AU2818l2 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 25-27 Jan 80 p 1 AU

[Editorial commentary signed "Stef."]

[Text] President Carter's introduction to the annual "State of the Union message" marks out a new stage in international politics. The nature of that stage involves the fact that the main Western power, which is being led by the governing team that wants to be reelected, has come to the conclusion that detente is not helping the team's interests--both the direct ones concerning the chances of staying in power after the fall elections and the more general ones concerning specific reasons of state and national advantage. Quite briefly: Carter's evaluation of the situation has convinced him that the United States should develop its policy toward confrontation from positions of strength and not toward cooperation with the Soviet Union and its allies. The premises of such reasoning were clearly formulated in the presidential message.

First, the United States has lost military superiority during the period of detente. Another passage of the presidential message on the need for the United States to preserve its position as the world's strongest power shows that the principle of the balance of power, which was the basis of the process of detente and which also led to the signing of the SALT II accord has ceased to be regarded as useful.

Second, the United States has found itself dependent on Middle East oil, a position that can be overcome (or can be attempted to be overcome) by military means above all. If, in accordance with the rules of unemotional analysis, we literally view the "defensive" formulation of the most important sentence of the message, its tenor will be unequivocal: "Each attempt by an external power to take over control of the Persian Gulf will be regarded as a direct threat to the United States' most vital interests. Such an attempt will be repulsed by all possible means, including the use of the armed forces." It is worth noting that the language and mentality are identical with the Truman Doctrine of 1947. Under the pretext of the complicated situation in Greece and of the invented threat to Turkey the doctrine proclaimed the "cold war," making the United States a self-styled "policeman of the world," a definition coined by Prof I.P. Fleming, an outstanding U.S. political expert. One can understand the fear of the capitalist economy, which has been developing so abundantly for almost 300 years because the cheap and absolutely assured sources of energy have been such a cinch. However, it is hard to forgive the abuse that involves the efforts not only to lay at the Soviet Union's doorstep the responsibility for the developmental ambitions of the oil countries, but--as John Paul II always reminds us--to obviously put one's own interests before mankind's supreme interest, which means preservation of peace and of development through international cooperation.

Third, according to Carter, the United States wants to respond actively to "regional world events, such as those in Iran, for example." That also constitutes a return to the Truman Doctrine, which is all the more dangerous because the return has been accomplished under much more complicated and explosive international circumstances.

Briefly, if we were to regard Carter's message and also a number of previous decisions as the only or the decisive element of the present international situation, we would have to reach the conclusion that a return to the cold war has occurred. [paragraph continues]

If we resolutely refuse to countenance such a categorical statement it is because, in contrast with the situation of 30 years ago, the policies of the present U.S. administration were chosen on its own and are no longer a basic factor in the development of the international situation, (although they will certainly remain a very crucial one). At the other end of the scales we have to place the Soviet Union above all ("We will continue to follow the policy of peace and friendship among nations," L. Brezhnev said recently in an interview for PRAVDA); the position of the West European states that, except for Britain and, to some extent, the FRG, do not share U.S. ferociousness; and, finally, the general international trend that is mainly felt in economic affairs and also in the spiritual sphere, which favors peaceful cooperation, regardless of the circumstances. Even with the brutal nations, which are temporary in nature, no country, especially our country, should lose sight of those broader prospects.

WEST EUROPEAN REACTION TO OLYMPIC BOYCOTT CALL NOTED

LD282308 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Jan 80 LD

[Krzysztof Wojna report]

[Text] Brussels--The Belgian Olympic Committee has resolutely voted to participate in the Moscow Olympic games. Since France has officially announced its participation and it is known that national teams from most European countries will go to Moscow a clear division has appeared in the Atlantic alliance. However, this is fundamentally based on matters not connected with sport. From the very outset it is politics and the question of by which concept East-West relations should be developed. Should they be by the American one, which provides for a clear cooling of the climate, or the French one, which sees the supreme value in detente and thus subordinates current political decisions to detente?

In Brussels--the home of NATO headquarters, and the seat of the EEC--the division is particularly acute. It is through NATO that the United States made and is still making efforts to win support for its stand among West European allies. Americans are not hiding their disappointment that only one partner of any value--Great Britain--is standing alongside of Washington, which on the continent confirms De Gaulle's old suspicions that special links binding Great Britain to the United States are stronger than its links with Europe.

Differences of opinion, despite NATO consultations, are still there, and also make it impossible to take a common stand within the EEC framework. It appears from various comments that such attempts were made, but divergencies appear to be insurmountable. At the same time many voices critical of Washington are heard. European allies claim first of all that President Carter made a number of extremely important decisions for East-West relations without consulting West Europe. In the circumstances Washington's pressure for West Europe to unequestionably side with the United States is out of place, to say the least.

WEEKLY SEES THREAT TO IDEAL OF OLYMPIC GAMES

LD260020 Warsaw PAP in English 2123 GMT 25 Jan 80 LD

["Olympic Games--Bridge or Gulf?"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Jan, PAP--In connection with speculations in the West about the Moscow Olympic games the most popular Polish political weekly POLITIKA carries an article under the above title. Excerpts:

"The U.S. leading statesmen Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale and Cyrus Vance are broadly propagating a plan to boycott the Moscow Olympic games or to move them to another venue, namely Montreal or Munich. This stance is shared by government politicians in Canada, Great Britain and Holland but does not enjoy support in other Western countries."

The weekly points out that sport is not a means to solve political problems and that is why Olympic games are not organized by governments but by the International Olympic Committee which has recalled that every country that has submitted its participation entry in the Olympic games and resigns from it for political reasons shall be excluded from the Olympic movement. Reports from all over confirm the fact that Olympic activists are not going to depart from this principle disregarding confrontation with government.

The question of participation in Moscow Olympic games was even included in the agenda of a meeting of EEC foreign ministers and that of the NATO Council session, but on both fronts no univocality [as received] of stances was achieved. In this context one could ask a question: With what sort of means could governments force national Olympic committees to boycott the Olympic games?

The question seems ever more important as the goal cannot be achieved by legal means and as none of national Olympic committees has expressed its approval of this conception yet. The ICC President Lord Killanin spoke clearly about the question saying that his organization was not interested in politics and that his organization signed a contract with the Soviet Olympic Committee in 1974. [Words indistinct] The Soviet Committee had fully implemented its obligations and that because of that also the ICC should carry out its obligations for otherwise it would have to pay great damages.

All "alternative" Olympic games whatever or whoever would patronize them would be a blow to the Olympic idea for sport [and] would then have to become a victim of world politics. It is hard to deny that there are no bonds between sport and politics but [word indistinct] idea and that of his followers was to have the Olympic idea influence politics through its character and not serve the goals of temporary political campaigns. An attempt at reversing this interdependence may bring about destructive effects not only to the very idea of Olympic games, but also to the policy of detente, concluded the weekly.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON GANDHI'S VIEWS ON U.S.-PRC MILITARY TIES

LD230946 Warsaw PAP in English 0500 GMT 23 Jan 80 LD

[Press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Jan, PAP--"The establishment of foreign military bases in Asian countries and in the region of the Indian Ocean, the mass sales of arms to nations in that part of the world--all these moves are disquieting to the Indian nation", wrote TRYBUNA LUDU in a commentary on India's stand towards the recent developments in the world. "The Indian nation also knows from its own experience--as has recently been stressed by Indira Gandhi in an interview for the French radio--what the Chinese expansionism means and how very dangerous to India would be military cooperation between the U.S. and China, which is also being supported by the Pakistani regime of General Haq.

"Wide circles of the Indian nation welcome with appreciation India's return to the policy of active neutrality which has won her respect and sympathy in the world. The declarations made by Mrs Prime Minister about restoring the old magnificent rank to India's relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are received with great satisfaction."

GIEREK SPEECH AT 17TH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

LD230008 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Jan 80 LD

[Text] The 17th PZPR Central Committee Plenum has been held in Warsaw. The deliberations were chaired by Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The plenum agenda consisted of the following areas: approval of the draft report of the PZPR Central Committee on activities between the seventh and eighth congresses. The deliberations were opened by Edward Gierek. He recalled that in the period since the last Central Committee plenum, death has removed merited activists of the party and state from the ranks' including Aleksander Zarajczyk, member of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the Kielce Voivodship Committee; and Kazimierz Balawajder, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee and most recently under secretary of state at the Ministry of Food Industry and Purchases. Those present honored their memory with a minute's silence.

Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, then rose to speak: [begin recording]

Esteemed comrades: In accordance with the statute of our party, its Central Committee is required to present a report on the work done in its term of office. The draft of such a report was drawn up by the editorial team of the Congress Commission and has been approved by the Politburo. It constitutes the main subject of the present Central Committee plenum. The draft report of the Central Committee is, in our view, a document containing an all-round description of the 1976-79 period, which was an important one in the life of our party and people. In this period, despite the difficulties and obstacles we are all familiar with, we have been consistently striving, in all the activities of the Central Committee, toward the implementation of the social and economic aims contained in the decisions of the sixth and seventh party congresses.

The draft report stresses that the party is correctly carrying out its guiding role in the life of the people by mapping out directions for development, and by organizing and uniting workers for the realization of ambitious tasks. The draft report together with the guidelines for the eighth congress clearly depict what our people have achieved along the path of socialist construction in the present 5-year period against the background of the achievements of the entire 1970 period. We want the report to be a genuine document correctly reflecting the activity of the Central Committee between the seventh and eighth congresses. So we ask you, comrades, to make observations about and suggestions to the draft which has been submitted by the Politburo.

Behind us we have an important stage of hard work. Three months ago the 16th Central Committee Plenum adopted a resolution which signalled the beginning of the period of direct preparations for the eighth congress. The guidelines of the Central Committee "for the further development of socialist Poland and for the prosperity of the Polish people," which were approved at that time, and the decision on the matter of convening the eighth congress, the election of delegates to the congress and precongress discussions, outlined the framework for multidirectional ideological-political and organizational work and mobilized all links of our party into action.

On the basis of the progress of the precongress campaign, w can state that the document, which was drawn up by the Congress Commission and accepted by the 16th plenum, forms a good foundation for involved and constructive debate. The discussion of the Central Committee guidelines for the eighth congress, which was begun by voivodship conferences of the party aktiv, continues to develop. This discussion has been taken up by primary party organizations and has been conducted extensively at factory, parish, urban, district and voivodship report-back and election conferences and in all forms of party work.

The discussion has extended to mass social organizations, professional and creative associations, and youth unions. The allied political parties--the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party--actively join in the debate on the guidelines. The lively flow of the discussions in the Polish Army is worthy of emphasis. This promotes the further deepening of party-political work, enhances ideological work and helps to strengthen the defensive readiness of our armed forces and to increase their contribution to the development of the country.

The press, radio and television perform an important role in publicizing the guidelines and precongress discussions. The mass media are demonstrating a great deal of initiative and are developing new forms of work. They allow representatives of various generations and environments to express themselves by presenting a wide range of authentic views and opinions. The precongress discussion embraces all milieu and relates to all problems presented by us in the guidelines for the congress. This is an honest and open, critical and self-critical debate. It is characterized by responsibility and concern for the successful development of the socialist fatherland. The way this debate is progressing testifies to the deep patriotism and the increasing unity of Poles around the most vital national aims. It testifies to the political maturity of our society and to the strong bond between the party and the people.

All matters of concern to working people--whether they apply to society in general or to the individual--are taken up in the discussions. Achievements, difficulties and problems alike and what fills us with pride or worries us are included in the discussions. This is a general review of our national problems which are present today and which we shall have to face in the future. The unflinching will to build a strong and prosperous Poland, to strengthen the gains of socialism, and to progress along the path mapped out by the sixth and seventh congresses is the leading theme of the discussions. This is borne out by the positive assessment of all that was achieved in the 1970's and by the acceptance of the aims of the party's policies.

This valuable mainstream of thinking along party and "good citizen" lines is of great upbringing value and makes us aware of how much has been achieved in transforming Socialist Poland. At the same time this confirms our convictions that we are capable of more. This is of particular importance in educative work with young people. Those taking part in precongress discussions are not avoiding difficult and complex problems or avoiding calling "negative phenomena" what they really are. They speak about what is making life better and more honest. Criticism aimed at one's own milieu, one's own work, is also being expressed in these voices. These critical, but at the same time constructive, attitudes, when fused with the wish to act, constitute a tremendous social potential which we must take full advantage of in order to solve the problems that arise and in order to overcome difficulties and eliminate their origins. Above all, we must carefully use the huge achievements of precongress discussions, examine all the observations and suggestions made during the discussions, make our position on certain suggestions known at the congress, and exploit them creatively in our work. These include matters which must be tackled without delay. There are also such propositions and demands, legitimate and also amusing ones, which we will not be in a position to implement at present. These will have to be considered when the appropriate conditions arise. I stress yet again that everything that has been gained during the precongress discussions must be used in the activities of the party and state.

While mapping out the political program line of the party, we must always be guided by the national and class point of view, and we must draw from the common wisdom and experience of the party and people. This is the basic precondition for the fulfillment of the leading role of our party, the deepening of its bonds with the community, and the consolidation of the nation's unity. Support for the party's program is at the same time a great obligation, and involves the requirement to face new difficult tasks.

The debate on the eighth congress which we began at the end of a difficult 1979 was accompanied by increased efforts of workforces, and also by the implementation of numerous valuable pledges undertaken within the framework of civic deeds to mark the 35th anniversary of People's Poland. The tempo of creative work is being maintained in the first days of the new year. Dear comrades, let us convey words of thanks and appreciation for the working class, farmers, intelligentsia, and all working people who are sparing no effort to increase the material and spiritual values of our fatherland.

Dear comrades, the course of the congress campaign clearly demonstrates that during the intercongress period our party has been consolidated and has grown strong; it has deepened bonds with the working people; and has strengthened its authority among the working class and throughout the community. Increasingly successful activity by the basic party organizations and by party branches is of great importance. They provide many examples of how deeply and strongly they are rooted in all problems concerning their milieu, and how capable they are of initiating discussions and actions, and working wisely and responsibly. A few days ago voivodship conferences were concluded. They made penetrating and universal reviews of voivodship achievements and of their contribution toward the development of the country. They have prepared programs of activity for the nearest future guided by the Central Committee guidelines. The climate of the report-back election campaign demonstrates that our party has been imbued with the will for creative activity, and with the general awareness of responsibility for the realization of objectives and tasks mapped out by the Central Committee guidelines. The report-back election campaign was at the same time a testimonial to interparty life based on Leninist principles of democratic centralism. Respect for the principles of democracy along with conscious party discipline has been the characteristic of our party's activity. The campaign creates a favorable climate for the solution of existing political, social and economic problems. Report-back election conferences have elected over 400,000 leading activists to the party offices, representing all social strata, and they enjoy confidence and authority.

There is a large representation of workers and farmers, and the participation of women has been increased. Elections of officers were conducted in accordance with the democratic principles contained in the Central Committee Secretariat directive. According to principles and norms adopted by the 16th Central Committee Plenum, 1,847 delegates have been elected to the eighth congress, including 294 elected by enterprise conferences which number at least 875 members and candidates of the PZPR.

The socioprofessional composition of the delegates for the congress stems from the nature of our party. About 46 percent of the delegates are workers and nearly 9 percent are farmers. The delegates include representatives of all milieu and the intelligentsia, activists from the state and economic administration, outstanding scholars and creative people, engineers, technologists, doctors and educators. They include representatives of all generations, merited activists of the workers' movement, veterans of war and work and also young activists of our party and activists of socialist youth unions. A large number of the delegates are women--representatives of all milieu and professions. The best and most active members of our party, who have been tested through their accomplishments and who enjoy general respect and recognition, have been entrusted with the mandate of delegate. It is worth stressing the fact that widespread support has been given in the elections to central activists--first secretaries of voivodship committees and also leading party activists in individual voivodships--who have been recommended by the Politburo and who stood for nomination at voivodship conferences. In the elections they obtained a huge majority of votes.

Barely 20 days separate us from the opening of the congress deliberations.

We must fill this time with intensive work--both political and productive. This will be the best form of support for the party's policy. The Central Committee Politburo proposes that the deliberations of the eighth congress should have a working character and that this forum should be an active one and that it should last 5 days, that is, 1 day less than previous congresses. We propose to open the deliberations on Monday, 11 February at 1600, thus enabling as many people as possible to watch and listen to the direct relay of the inauguration of the congress deliberations. We further propose that 1 day be set aside for discussions in 18 teams dealing with particular issues. These discussions, as an integral part of the deliberations, will make it possible for a large group of the delegates and congress participants to express themselves from the congress rostrum.

On behalf of the Central Committee, the Politburo has been invited to take part in the congress delegations of fraternal communist and workers parties from all the socialist states and from the remaining European countries as well as observers from certain European socialist parties. We want to invite a large group of the central and local party activists to take part in the congress. The contents and results of the deliberations will be fully reflected in the mass media. The party and the public will have full progress reports on the congress.

In the past few days the Secretariat of the Central Committee has sent out a letter to all local party echelons which defines the key tasks facing our party in the final period of the precongress campaign, during the congress and directly after the congress and also during the election campaign to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic and to voivodship people's councils. It is the duty of party echelons and organizations and of every full and candidate member of the PZPR to insure that productive work operates smoothly and safely during the congress deliberations.

We shall inform the party and all working people of the congress resolutions. We shall propose that they become the foundation of the election program of the National Unity Front in the coming elections to the Sejm and voivodship people's councils. [end recording]

After Edward Gierek's speech a debate began on the draft report of the party Central Committee. Seven speakers took the platform: Boleslaw Kapitan, candidate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Torun Voivodship Party Committee; Jan Gluza, candidate member of the Central Committee and secretary of the Krakow committee; Jozef Majchrzak, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship Party Committee; Mieczyslaw Przysucha, candidate member of the Central Committee and secretary of the Czestochowa Voivodship Committee; Wladyslaw Kandefer, member of the Central Party Control Commission and first secretary of the Krosno Voivodship Committee; Zbigniew Glowacki, first secretary of the Slupsk Voivodship Committee; and Wladyslaw Kruk, first secretary of the Lublin Voivodship Party Committee.

The discussion participants spoke about the progress in the report-back and election campaign in their voivodships. They developed individual subjects contained in the Central Committee report which had been submitted on "Activity in the Period Between the seventh and eighth congresses." They expressed approval of this document. The plenum unanimously adopted a resolution approving the report on the activity of the PZPR Central Committee between the seventh and eighth congresses.

At the end of the deliberations Edward Gierek said: Today we have approved the report of the Central Committee for the eighth party congress. This is an important document in which we have presented to the congress delegates and through them to the whole party the results of the work done by the Central Committee in the outgoing term of office. Today's 17th plenary session is the last in the current term of office of the Central Committee.

On behalf of the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee I wish to thank in a warm and cordial manner all full and candidate members of the party Central Committee for their active and creative work and for the assistance and trust shown to us by you. We have worked together guided by the statute and resolutions of the seventh congress strengthening the party and defining the contents and patterns of its work. This has not been an easy period but it has brought about the further development of the country. We have let it go down in history with new achievements. We have fulfilled the obligations entrusted to us by the party according to our strength and possibilities.

I thank you, comrades, Edward Gierek concluded, for your work and efforts in the implementation of the joint aims and tasks. The deliberations of the 17th PZPR Central Committee Plenum ended with the singing of the Internationale.

GIEREK RETURNS TO WARSAW AFTER VISIT TO CSSR

LD282222 Warsaw PAP in English 2100 GMT 28 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Jan, PAP--PUWP First Secretary Edward Gierek returned to Warsaw tonight after a one-day friendly working visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of General Secretary of the Communist Party and President of Czechoslovakia Gustav Husak.

LIST OF OIL SUPPLIERS EXPECTED TO EXPAND

LD282300 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 28 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Jan, PAP--This year, Poland plans to increase her oil imports from the Third World, said Antoni Karas, Polish vice-minister of foreign trade, in an interview for the Polish radio in which he answered questions concerning the development of Poland's trade with these countries. The minister said that in 1979 Poland imported some 3.5 million tons of oil from that region of the world, first of all from Iraq, Iran, Algeria, the Libyan Jamahiriyah and Nigeria. These 3.5 million tons accounted for one fifth of Poland's entire oil imports and the remaining four fifths come from the USSR. Poland's trade talks with other countries are under way and this year she hopes to increase the list of her oil suppliers to include countries from the Persian Gulf, Africa and Latin America. Some of these agreements will soon be concluded.

The minister stressed that Poland did not purchase oil in the free market, basing her entire imports on long-term international agreements. For oil deliveries, Poland paid with the supplies of complete industrial projects, rolling-stock, capital equipment and building services.

Minister Karas also said that in Third World countries Poland would continue to buy raw materials and semi-finished products for industry, including cotton, [words indistinct] rubber, hides, metal [words indistinct] and industrial marketables. This kind of import has also been based on long-term agreements.

REPORTAGE ON VISIT BY FRG'S FRANZ-JOSEF STRAUSS

28 January Arrival

AU281620 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 28 Jan 80 AU

[Text] Franz-Josef Strauss, chairman of the FRG's Christian Social Union and minister president of Bavaria, arrived today in Romania at the invitation of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

Beginning of Talks

LD281628 Hamburg DPA in German 1438 GMT 28 Jan 80 LD

[Excerpts] Bucharest--Franz-Josef Strauss, Bavarian minister president and CSU chairman, began his 3-day program in Romanian today by discussing economic policy issues. This afternoon in Bucharest he met Romanian Minister of Foreign Trade Cornel Burtica, and Chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology Ion Ursu.

At lunchtime today Strauss laid wreaths at the Romanian heroes monument in freedom park and at a soldiers' cemetery. Several hundred members of the German armies from the two World Wars are also buried there.

Strauss was welcomed at the airport by Stefan Voitec, vice president of the Council of State; Nicolae Constantin, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and by Tamara Dobrin, executive chairman of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front.

Meeting With Ursu

AU282044 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1935 GMT 28 Jan 80 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/1/1980--On Monday, first deputy chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology Ion Ursu had an interview with Franz-Josef Strauss.

They approached questions related to the scientific and technological collaboration in domains of joint interest.

Talks With Burtica

AU282045 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 28 Jan 80 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/1/1980--Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, had an interview on Monday with Franz-Josef Strauss.

Aspects of the economic collaboration and cooperation between Romanian foreign trade enterprises and West German firms were approached during the interview.

Bucharest Press Conference

LD282100 Hamburg DPA in German 1943 GMT 28 Jan 80 LD

[Excerpts] Bucharest--It is the view of Franz-Josef Strauss, Bavarian minister president and CSU chairman, that West Europe should do nothing which could cause the Romanians difficulties within the power sphere in which they live. During a press conference with German journalists in Bucharest today he emphasized that the Romanian leadership had always maintained a most independent line, and while being true to the alliance and clear about the domestic ideology had always valued the country's independence.

The Romanians are realists who know that the geostrategic relations in their area limit their own scope somewhat. Party, state and society are clearly strongly organized, so that no Warsaw Pact country could claim that an erosion is emanating from there. The Romanians want to be masters in their own house, also in the military sphere.

Strauss described the economic and cultural relations with Romania, as well as regular exchanges of views, as useful. The CSU chairman said about the purpose of his 3-day visit: "I have not come in order to give advice or to have talks, but to inform myself."

The minister president said about the question of family reunification that this problem should be tackled as quietly as possible. Beating "the big drum" in this matter would help nobody.

FURTHER ON U.S. UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE NEWSOM VISIT

Meeting With Ceausescu

AU282040 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1928 GMT 28 Jan 80 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/1/1980--President Nicolae Ceausescu received on January 28 David Newsom, U.S. under-secretary of state for political affairs, U.S. President Jimmy Carter's personal envoy.

The interview was attended by Stefan Andrei, Romanian minister of foreign affairs.

The guest handed over a message to President Nicolae Ceausescu from President Jimmy Carter.

President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed best wishes to President Jimmy Carter.

During the interview, expressed was the will of the two states to act for the development of the relations between Romania and the U.S.A. in keeping with the decisions and orientations set during the Romanian-American summit meetings.

Approached were also some aspects of the international situation. In this framework, stress was laid on the importance of preventing the current international situation from getting worse and of improving the political climate, of furthering the policy of detente grounded on equality of rights, on the observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, non-recourse to threat or use of force in interstate relations, elimination of the states of tension and conflict, settlement of all differences by peaceful means exclusively, by negotiations, solution of contemporary mankind's cardinal issues with the participation of all states.

The exchange of views pointed to the necessity of acting for the consolidation of security and cooperation in the European Continent, for the continuation and intensification of the efforts devoted to a thorough preparation of the Madrid meeting.

It was stressed that further action should be undertaken for implementing tangible disarmament measures, for bridging the existing gaps among states, for establishing a new world economic order which should secure the free and independent development of all peoples, a world political and economic stability.

The interview passed in a cordial atmosphere.

The same day, David Newsom left Bucharest.

Interview in Bucharest

AU291010 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0820 GMT 29 Jan 80 AU

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 29/1/1980--During an interview he had today with journalists at the end of his Romanian visit, David Newsom, U.S. under-secretary of state for political affairs, was highly appreciative of his meeting with President Ceausescu to whom he handed over a message from President Carter.

Expressing his satisfaction at the talks he had in Bucharest, the American guest said that the cooperative relations between the U.S.A. and Romania were witnessing an upward course. Mentioning that the two countries' trade volume grew by about 30 per cent in the last year, he assessed that the relations between the U.S.A. and Romania were "very positive and sound."

David Newsom was also highly appreciative of Romania's foreign policy, stressing that she plays a constructive role in the world, developing relations of collaboration with all states.

AMBASSADOR TO MOROCCO REGRETS SOVIET ACTION IN AFGHANISTAN

LD281650 Rabat MAP in Arabic 0900 GMT 28 Jan 80 LD

[Excerpt] Rabat--The Romanian ambassador in Rabat has declared that his country regards all existing tensions in many regions of Africa as vestiges of colonialism and repercussions belonging to specific zones of influence. Regarding the tension prevailing in northwest Africa, Mr Popescu, in a statement he made to MAP on the occasion of Romania's celebrating the 62d birthday of the Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, has stated that any settlement of disputes by force is not a settlement but provides opportunities for foreign interventions which make the situation tense in the region.

Regarding Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, Popescu has explained that his country places great importance on the right of peoples' self-determination. The Romanian ambassador has expressed his country's regret over the violations that some states are being exposed to as well as the interference in their own internal affairs.

Regarding bilateral cooperation between Morocco and Romania, Popescu has mentioned that the two visits by the Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to Morocco at the invitation of his majesty, King Hassan II, in 1970 and 1973, worked at consolidating the existing bonds of friendship between the two heads of states and the Moroccan and Romanian peoples as they also opened new prospects for economic and technical cooperation between the two countries.

MOSCOW SEES RETURN TO COLD WAR IN STATE OF UNION SPEECH

AU282245 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 80 p 3 AU

[R. Bajalski report]

[Text] Moscow, 25 January--Everything that Jimmy Carter has done in the field of international policy immediately before and after "Afghanistan" was received and interpreted in Moscow as a transformation of the American foreign political line. According to the way Moscow sees it, the course of the transformation is toward abandoning detente and returning to the cold war.

In that connection the thesis is insisted upon in Moscow that "Afghanistan" is only Carter's excuse and that the U.S. administration would have "invented" something else--had there been no Soviet military action in Afghanistan.

It is more or less from this angle that Moscow reacted to Carter's State of the Union message and to his speech in the U.S. Congress 2 days ago.

As far as the announced "Carter doctrine" is concerned, in Moscow it is not considered that the U.S. President invented something new. A commentator concluded that what was involved is a "doctrine that smells of gunpowder," but that the doctrine is not new because its original creators were Truman and Eisenhower.

Carter Against Carter

Nonetheless, it is admitted in Moscow that something has changed in Washington's policy, it is believed that a change has occurred in the behavior of the U.S. President himself, that "Carter acts against Carter." What is kept in mind are his preelection promises made 3 years ago and that he would strive to "limit the arsenal of arms" and his steps are now aimed at greatly increasing the U.S. military budget.

The question now arises in Moscow as to whether Carter "bluffed" 3 years ago (in the U.S. post-Vietnam and post-Watergate period) or has he now become an ally of the hawks, making concessions to them, step by step, in the past period? Soviet analysts will have to occupy themselves with that topic, but for now they are concentrating on what, for instance, Carter is telling Moscow in connection with "Afghanistan."

We will quote the conclusion of a commentary: "Now it is important to establish the following: The reason, moreover, the cause for the transformation of the White House's political line was not the so-called Afghan question. Instead the transformation began long before the December events in Kabul and, as in the past, the basis of the transformation was not the Afghan question, but rather the so-called Russian question."

To make the thing clearer, Carter is presented as a victim of the U.S. military-industrial complex, which, for its part, has tried all the time to impose on the United States a revision of the "Russian question," that is, a revision of the attitude toward the Soviet Union after the "era of negotiations" of Nixon's administration in the seventies. The conclusion in Moscow is that every such revision of the "Russian question" in the United States necessarily leads to a return to the cold war.

In Moscow it is assessed that Carter's State of the Union message has opened the path to a return to the "Russian question" and to the cold war.

Announcement of Interventions

The most disputed course now is the U.S. President's commitment to defend U.S. "vital interests" in the Middle East. For that reasons Carter's statement in Congress that the United States will defend its interests in the Persian Gulf with all means, including military means, was assessed in Moscow as an announcement of U.S. military intervention. In that connection, one bears in mind Iran and other countries of the Persian Gulf. According to numerous Soviet explanations, the presence of a limited USSR military contingent in Afghanistan is being used by the Carter administration as an excuse for its pressure on the countries of the Middle East region.

The following question is also being heard in Soviet political circles: How can Carter speak about U.S. "vital interests" in those areas of the world which are 15,000 kilometers away from the U.S. mainland, while at the same time disputing the Soviet Union's right to concern itself with its security in the regions on which it borders? The Soviet accusation that Washington is dividing the world into spheres of interests--with this topic one currently bears in mind the Middle East and the Near East--comes through the first TASS report on Carter's speech in Congress (which was not published in today's press)

In addition to this--to put it in this way--doctrinary polemic with the U.S. President, one gets the impression that Moscow is, nonetheless, seriously studying Carter's statement that the United States may also use military force in the Middle East--because the threat contains in itself a direct contact between the U.S. and the USSR military forces in that region of the world.

It is very likely that for that reason in Moscow they are not hurrying too much with a fuller reaction to what Carter said to the U.S. Congress on 23 January.

OLYMPIC BOYCOTT COULD CAUSE FURTHER WORLD DIVISION INTO BLOCS

LD281900 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Now for our foreign political topic. The call to boycott this year's Olympic games has given rise to various international comment and to an even greater number of dilemmas. Listen to what our commentator Ante Kesic says:

Pre-Olympic political games have placed obstacles in the way of the 22d Olympic games. Political and sporting Mount Olympuses--two of them in particular--are involved in a trial of strength over the Olympic games as a sport and a humanist act, and the degree to which they are in the service of politics, although the original Greek Olympic games carried such force that their fanfares stopped wars. These 22d games received in advance the appellation "the peaceful games" and although the host country has caused disruption with its Afghan move it is also true to say that a country which is a candidate for much Olympic gold and silver has adopted the Olympic games as an instrument of sanctions.

U.S. pragmatism and its quest for efficiency no doubt assessed that the USSR would be a far greater loser in view of its exceptionally strong desire and need to hold the Olympic games in Moscow and that it would incur far more harm than the United States. So the idea about the boycott was launched and accepted on the national and political level. The only complaints are from the sportsmen who had become involved in big Olympic games business, although the games are not to be held in the United States.

Moreover, the idea about the boycott is not all that new. The first to have proposed it, some time ago, was the Soviet dissident Bukovskiy who suggested that the 22d Olympic games be used as a weapon to force the Soviets to respect human rights.

However, when the idea was raised to the level of U.S. policy it acquired strength and allies. Great Britain responded at once, followed by Canada and Australia, but then the Swiss and the Iranian Olympic committees opposed the boycott and the Danish Government's position has only one reservation, namely that the Danish team will not go to the Olympic games if it happens to be the only team representing a Western country. Well, the Danes will certainly not be alone because the French spoke out most clearly in favor of not disturbing international sport and Olympic ideals. The International Olympic Committee, based in London, holds the same view.

Lord Killanin is obviously thinking of the dangers which politics have inflicted on the Olympic spirit in the past, especially in Munich and Montreal. Lord Killianin--and he has many supporters in this respect--is for the universality of the Olympic games and for dignified Olympic rivalry and contest among competitors, and even among enemies, in the field of sport.

As regards the dilemma as to whether to follow the boycott, fear acts as a brake too--could the long-term effects of this boycott spell the end or even the death of the Olympic games because those boycotted and their friends would obviously boycott the Olympic games tomorrow in another place. These and similar fears are also shared, by Israel, for example, which is adopting a wait-and-see attitude, which is what most Western countries are also doing.

To suspend the Olympic games would entail an even deeper splitting of the world along its bloc seams and its encapsulation within bloc illusions.

TITO CONTINUES TO RECEIVE MESSAGES URGING SPEEDY RECOVERY

Chinese, DPRK Leaders' Telegrams

LD280030 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1854 GMT 27 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 27 (TANJUG)--Hua Guofeng, Chairman of the Communist Party of China and premier, and Kim Il-song, secretary-general of the Workers' Party and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK], today sent their best wishes for a quick recovery to President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia.

Hua Guofeng's telegram says, among other things, that the Chinese people like all the peace-loving peoples in the world wish President Tito good health and a (?long) life.

In wishing Yugoslav president as quick recovery as [word indistinct], Korean President Kim Il-song points out in his message that he will be needed (?both) for the happiness of the Yugoslav people and for the strengthening and development of the nonalined movement as well as for peace in the world.

(?Leaders of political parties, organizations, and associations still send their telegrams of best wishes for as quick recovery as possible to the Yugoslav president.

European Leaders' Messages

LD252236 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 25 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade, Jan. 25 (TANJUG)--Statesmen, individual parties and prominent world figures also today sent their telegrams of best wishes to the ailing Yugoslav President Tito for his quick recovery and convalenscence.

While flying over Yugoslavia en route to India, French President Valery Giscard D'Estaing again sent his warm wishes to President Tito for his recovery and continuation of his high mission.

President Aristides Royo of Panama sent his best wishes for a quick recovery to President Tito, adding that he should continue leading the Yugoslav peoples along the way of democracy and justice of which they ever were proud.

In his telegram, member of the Council of the Revolution of Portugal Melo Antunes, now on a visit to Yugoslavia, assures that those who love peace, freedom and national independence will with enthusiasm welcome the continuation of Tito's political activity internationally to the benefit of a better and more equitable world.

Tulia Cazettoni, president of the Italian Forum for Security and Cooperation in Europe and in the Mediterranean, the Socialist Party of Andalusia, and the 50-year-old Toronto NASE NOVINE mouthpiece also sent telegrams of best wishes to President Tito. While officiating at a mass for the (?parliamentarians) of all Italian political parties, the papal Roman deputy Cardinal Puletti had the words of admiration to say about President Tito as well as the best wishes for his recovery.

French CP Telegram

LD252235 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1755 GMT 25 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade, January 25 (TANJUG)--The French Communist Party Central Committee has, from its meeting in the Paris Ivry Suburb, sent to President Tito a lengthy telegram of "warmest and most fraternal wishes for a speedy recovery."

"Your name has become for the French Communists a symbol of the struggle for the independence of peoples, nonalignment and the transcending of blocs and the independent development of authentic self-management socialism", the telegram states.

Citing the struggle for the emancipation of nations, peaceful coexistence and the new international economic and political order, the French Communist Party Central Committee adds: "Your courage, your magnanimity and your feeling for the course of history have given the above struggles a dimension which warrants Socialist Yugoslavia's peaceful international role, a role which cannot be disputed."

The telegram also informs President Tito that the French C.P. Central Committee members, when assessing the last year Marchais-Tito talks, expressed satisfaction with the outstandingly friendly character of the talks and prospects for cooperation between the two parties.

TITO GREETS WORLD LEADERS ON NATIONAL HOLIDAYS

Indian President Reddy

LD251822 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1711 GMT 25 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade, January 25, TANJUG--President Tito has sent a telegramme of felicitations to Indian President Neelam Sanjiva Reddy on the occasion of the anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic of India.

"It gives me great pleasure on this occasion to be able once again to stress that relations between Yugoslavia and India, relations with a rich tradition, continue to develop and be promoted in many fields", the telegramme states. "I attach special importance to our growing broad cooperation and consistent implementation of the policy of non-alinement with a view to as effectively as possible contributing to the solution of major problems, the consolidation of peace and the inguring of progress in the world", the telegramme adds.

Australian Governor General

LD251828 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1714 GMT 25 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade, January 25, TANJUG--Yugoslav President Tito has sent Australian Governor General Zelman Cowen a telegram on the occasion of Australia's national holiday. In the telegram, President Tito expresses the hope that the two countries' relations of friendship and cooperation will continue developing and "be a contribution to better international understanding, international cooperation and the strengthening of world peace."

DJURANOVIC, AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER PAHR HOLD TALKS

LD281614 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1147 GMT 28 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade, January 28 (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Premier Veselin Djuranovic and Austrian Foreign Minister Dr Willibald Pahr today extensively discussed the promotion of cooperation between the two neighboring countries and the current international situation. Noting the favorable development of Yugoslav-Austrian cooperation, Djuranovic and Pahr pointed to inadequately exploited possibilities for further and comprehensive cooperation between the two countries.

PORTUGAL'S MELO ANTUNES CONTINUES VISIT

Meeting With SAWPY Official

LD242300 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1227 GMT 24 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade--Marin Cetinic, vice president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, this morning held talks with Melo Antunes, member of the Council of the Revolution of Portugal. Marin Cetinic informed the guest about the topical tasks of the Socialist Alliance and questions of development of our country in economic and other fields. On his part, Melo Antunes informed his host about the situation in Portugal. Views were also exchanged on cooperation between the two friendly countries. The talks were held in an atmosphere of close friendship and a desire to promote cooperation between the two countries.

Discussion With Vrhovec

LD242301 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1704 GMT 23 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 23 (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Josip Vrhovec today received Portuguese Revolutionary Council member Melo Antunes. Antunes is on a two-day visit to Yugoslavia. During the friendly and open talk, Vrhovec and Antunes exchanged views on the current international situation and the importance of the policy of non-alignment in the struggle for peace, security and equal relations in the world. The importance of the establishment of the new international economic order was also discussed.

Talks With Minic

LD242302 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1935 GMT 23 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade, January 23 (TANJUG)--League of Communists of Yugoslavia Presidency member and President of the Yugoslav Federal Council for International Relations Milos Minic today met with Portuguese Council of the Revolution member Ernesto Melo Antunes.

Melo Antunes is on a brief visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia Federal Conference. Minic and Antunes discussed the two countries' internal development, the current world situation and the activity of the non-aligned movement. Particular attention was devoted to the deterioration of the international situation and the need for finding ways and means for solving major international questions and crises.

Melo Antunes conveyed Portugese President Eanes' and his own best wishes for President Tito's speedy recovery and resumption of his activities. During the talk, the mutual interest was stressed in further successfully developing friendly cooperation between Yugoslavia and Portugal.

Belgrade Press Conference

LD242303 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1700 GMT 24 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade, January 24 (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia plays an exceptionally important role in the nonaligned movement, the role which is also of great importance for the safeguarding of peace and the stability and cooperation in Europe and the world. Hence our interest in the strengthening of relations with Yugoslavia and the opening of a dialogue with nonaligned countries.

This was said by Melo Antunes, member of the Council of the Revolution of Portugal, at a press conference here today. Melo Antunes is visiting Yugoslavia as guest of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance.

Prior to answering journalists' questions, Melo Antunes addressed sincere greetings to President Tito and the warmest wishes for his complete and early recovery. Antunes said that hereby he joins "the peoples of Yugoslavia, all peoples of the world, who care for peace, independence and freedom".

Melo Antunes said that the Madrid follow-up of the European security and cooperation conference should be an event of great importance. The complicated international situation and dangerous tensions are a result of bloc rivalry, he said. Within this context Antunes said that certain circles in some countries who have doubts about the appropriateness of the convening of the conference in Madrid are encouraging mistrust and tensions.

Antunes noted that the London negotiations had not resolved all problems in the south of Africa, adding that "all peoples fighting for independence and freedom should contribute to the solving of problems of the south of Africa".

The member of the Portugese Council of the Revolution, Antunes, stressed in referring to Yugoslav-Portuguese relations the wish of his country to promote and expand cooperation with Yugoslavia in all fields.

Speaking about the situation in Portugal, Melo Antunes said that it is complex but stressed at the same time that the Portuguese revolution is deeply rooted in the people and that the main ideals of the revolution continue.

PRESIDIUM EXECUTIVE SECRETARY DURUTOVIC RECEIVES BCP DELEGATION

LD260004 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1608 GMT 25 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade--Svetozar Durutovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received a study delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party led by Tsvetan Nikolov, deputy chief of the BCP Central Committee Department for Foreign Policy and International Relations.

In the conversation which took place at the meeting Durutovic acquainted the BCP study delegation with certain current tasks and activities of the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces of our society at the internal and international level. During the conversation relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and the LCY and BCP were also dealt with.

The members of the Bulgarian delegation were also received by Borislav Milosevic, assistant executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. In today's final talks an exchange of views was carried out on relations between the LCY and BCP and a programme of cooperation between the two parties for 1980 and 1981 examined.

FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S IKONIC RECEIVES VISITING GDR OFFICIAL

LD282312 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1303 GMT 28 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade--Branislav Ikonic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, received today Manfred Flegel, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers who is visiting the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the Autonomous Province of Kosovo. During the talks they discussed the state and prospects of bilateral economic cooperation. It was noted that economic cooperation is developing successfully and readiness was expresseed for its expansion and promotion on stable and long-term foundations in keeping with the requirements and possibilities of the two countries.

Manfred Flegel conveyed the best wishes of Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers Willi Stoph for President of the Republic Josip Broz Tito's soonest possible recovery. The meeting was attended by Federal Executive Council member Dr Slobodan Gligorijevic and by GDR Ambassador to Yugoslavia Dr Herhard Hahn.

TUNISAN ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT ARRIVES IN YUGOSLAVIA

LD282104 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1918 GMT 28 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade, January 28 (TANJUG)--President of the National Assembly of Tunisia Sadok Mokaddem arrived here this evening as a special envoy of Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba. Sadok Mokaddem is carrying a friendly message from President Bourguiba for President Tito.

ALGERIAN PRIME MINISTER, OFFICIALS DISCUSS COOPERATION, RELATIONS

Talks With Herljevic

LD241906 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0954 GMT 24 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade--Mohammed ben Ahmed Abdelghani, prime minister of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria and member of the Political Bureau of the National Liberation Front [FLN] Central Committee, held talks today with Franjo Herljevic, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for internal affairs.

Meeting With Dragosavac

LD241908 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1420 GMT 24 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade--Dr Dusan Dragosavac, LCY Central Committee Presidium secretary, held talks today with Mohamed ben Ahmed Abdelghani, member of the Algerian FLN Political Bureau and prime minister of the Algerian Democratic and Popular Republic, who is leading an Algerian delegation on a visit to our country.

In an open and friendly conversation, views were exchanged on the topical international situation and especially about the situation and activities of the nonalined movement.

The relations between the LCY and FLN were also discussed, the basis of which were established as early as the Algerian liberation struggle, and which are developing successfully in the interests of the peoples of the two countries. These relations proceed from the principles of full independence and equality and the right of every party, people and country to decide freely on the paths of their internal development without outside interference, as well as from the responsibility of every party to its own people and the joint aims of the nonalined movement and the struggle for peace and socialism in the world. Both sides stated that there are broad possibilities for cooperation between the two parties and expressed desires for the continued promotion of cooperation.

Also taking part in the talks were Mohamed Hadj Yala, member of the FLN Central Committee and minister of finance; Vuko Dragasevic, member of the Federal Executive Council; Zvonko Grahek, deputy chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium commission for international cooperation; Biroslav Milosevic, assistant executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; and Abdul Hamid Adjali and Nedeluko Zoric, the ambassadors of the two countries.

Meeting With Government Officials

LD242304 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1945 GMT 24 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade, January 24 (TANJUG)--Algerian Premier Mohamed ben Ahmed Abdelghani, who is on an official visit to Yugoslavia, today met with President of the Assembly of Yugoslavia Dragoslav Markovic. He also had talks with Secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee President Dusan Dragosavac and was guest at a luncheon given in his honour by President of the Yugoslav Constituent Republic of Serbia President Dobrivoje Vidic. The Algerian premier also met with Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Franjo Herljevic.

During the talks at the Assembly of Yugoslavia pleasure was expressed at this visit of the Algerian premier being an opportunity for a very useful exchange of views on the two countries' cooperation on both the bilateral and international levels. Premier Abdelghani informed Markovic of the extensive possibilities existing for the participation of Yugoslav enterprises in Algeria's capital development projects in the coming year.

Markovic and Abdelghani pointed out the great importance of the more resolute orientation of nonaligned and other developing countries towards consolidation of eceonomic cooperation among them. To this end, it was stressed, it is necessary to contribute to the establishment of the new international economic order.

The talks between Abdelghani and Dragosavac also focused on relations between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Algerian National Liberation Front which are developing successfully. These relations are based on the principles of full independence, equality and the right of every party, people and country to determine the paths of their internal development, as well as on the common goals of the nonalined movement and the struggle for peace and socialism in the world.

In the toasts at the luncheon given in honor of Abdelghani by Vidic, both sides stressed the importance of further promoting bilateral cooperation between two friendly and nonalined countries--Yugoslavia and Algeria.

POLITIKA VIEWS PAST, PRESENT TRADE WITH INDIA

AU242000 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jan 80 p 7 AU

[Zivojin Tedorovic article: "'Third World' Challenge"]

[Summary] "Recently Ratko Svilar, vice president of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, chaired in New Delhi the third session of the joint business council of India and Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav economy contributes only just over 1 percent to India's foreign trade. Last year, Yugoslav imports from India amounted to over $80 million, and exports to India to less than $20 million. In the period between 1973, when convertible payments were introduced in the trade between the two countries, and 1977 bilateral trade quadrupled. Initially Yugoslavia had a surplus, but by 1977 trade was almost balanced followed by a serious Yugoslav deficit in the following years.

"The unfavorable trend continues this year, too. The reason is simple: India no longer imports ships from Yugoslavia and they used to constitute the chief item of our exports."

In the past 6 years, ships accounted for $366 million or 79 percent of the exports worth about $565 million. Yugoslavia also exported tractors worth $25.4 million and cellulose fibers worth $27.8 million.

Indian exports to Yugoslavia from 1973 to 1978 amounted to $339.3 million. Coffee, tea, pepper and cocoa accounted for 40.23 percent of that sum. About 1,300 railroad cars cost $12.47 million.

Yugoslav enterprises have built 15 power stations in India and delivered 37 ships to India, that is 30 percent of its merchant fleet. The Belgrade motor and tractor plant in production cooperation with Indian firms has exported 35,000 tractors to India. Yugoslav enterprises have constructed several ports in India. Further joint ventures are proposed.

ORTHODOX CHURCH LEADERS WISH TITO SPEEDY RECOVERY

Serbian Patriarch

AU290928 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 80 p 16 AU

[Text] Belgrade, 24 January, TANJUG--Patriarch German of the Serbian Orthodox Church has sent the following telegram to President Tito:

"Our highly esteemed and dear president: Along with our prayers to God I wish you as speedy and complete a recovery and return to your regular duties as possible. With deep respect and with cordial greetings, your Serbian Patriarch German."

Macedonian Archbishop

AU290930 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 80 p 16 AU

[Text] Skopje, 25 January, TANJUG--On behalf of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and on his own behalf, Archbishop Dositej of Ohrid and Macedonia has sent best wishes to President Tito for a speedy recovery.

We hope, the telegram states, that for many, many more years to come you will be at the head of our common homeland the SFRY and that you will lead us to an even brighter and happier future. You, as the greatest champion of peace in the world, are much needed by us and the entire peaceful mankind. [paragraph continues]

The head of the Macedonian Orthodox Church also stresses that Tito's statesmanlike wisdom and great authority can contribute most to the stabilization of the greatly desired peace in the world.

MUSLIM PRIESTS CENSURE PAPER FOR DISRUPTING COMMUNITY RELATIONS

ID271539 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 27 Jan 80 LD

[Text] Zenica--At today's seminar of Muslim priests from the area of the municipalities of Zenica, Zavidovici, Zepce and Busovaca, which was held in Zenica, the participants were informed of aberrations in the editorial policy of PREPOROD, the organ of the Islamic religious community. The priests censured the editorial board of this paper which, in some articles and remarks by individuals at religious gatherings, had disrupted the hitherto successful cooperation between this religious community and society. It was also emphasized that cooperation between the association of Islamic priests and sociopolitical organizations and organs was good in all these municipalities, particularly in activity with the SAWP.

CROATIAN COUNCIL OF REPUBLIC DISCUSS INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

ID281948 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Jan 80 LD

[Summary] The Croatian Council of the Republic, which met in Zagreb today under Jakov Blazevic's chairmanship, has sent President Tito a telegram with the warm wishes of all our people for his speedy and complete recovery. Mira Juric reports on the work of the council:

"Referring to the deteriorated international situation and to the danger of its further exacerbation, Jaksa Petric stressed that this time the cold war would not evolve in a restricted area but further afield on the whole globe. Together with other nonalined countries this kind of development must be resolutely prevented in defense of the principles upon which peace and security in the world can alone be based, in a world in which free people will be able to strengthen their autonomy and independence. This can only be done by the nonalined countries, stressed Jaksa Petric. He said that it was therefore necessary for the principles of the nonalined movement and its action to come to the fore. In connection with Comrade Tito's illness and the difficult international conditions there occurred a spontaneous and general plebiscite in Yugoslavia for Tito and his and our policy which has confirmed the strength and unity of Yugoslavia, stressed Jaksa Petric in conclusion, expressing at the same time his conviction that this was registered by everyone outside our country."

Petar Flekovic, president of the Croatian Executive Council, analyzed individual aspects of economic trends.

"At the session today of the Council of the Republic, Pero Car, a member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, informed council members about the self-defense situation and measures, stressing that in connection with the deteriorated international situation our working people and citizens had displayed a high level of involvement."

CTUY PRESIDENT SPEAKS ON 1980 ECONOMIC TASKS, PROBLEMS

LD252342 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0834 GMT 25 Jan 80 LD

[Excerpts] Belgrade--The Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia [CTUY] Central Council held a meeting in Belgrade today in order to determine the directions of the organization's activity in implementing the development and economic stabilization policy for this year. The state and problems of establishing income-based relations were also discussed.

Before addressing the agenda subjects, CTUY President Mika Spiljak reminded the delegates that it was on this day 35 years ago that the national trade union conference was held, at which the trade unions of workers and employees were founded and at which foundations were laid for the CTUY.

Mika Spiljak then submitted the introductory report on the first point on the agenda. The CTUY Central Council supports measures aimed at implementing the policy laid down by the resolution on the implementation of the 1980 socioeconomic plan and will actively advocate their implementation, Spiljak said. In this connection, he expressed the conviction that all essential factors exist, factors which make it possible to overcome economic difficulties and to realize more stable trends of socioeconomic development, beginning with the degree of development of production forces of the specialized cadres and the readiness of all our working people to come to grips with problems.

Economic stabilization demands from all of us great efforts, sacrifices, a change in the method of work and different behavior by all subjects of the economic and political system, Spiljak said. Such an attitude to the tasks must be adopted by everybody, from the highest leadership to the last worker. The adopted measures to restrict consumption and other measures of a partially administrative nature do not represent an orientation toward resolving problems in an administrative way. They create conditions for and allow self-managing decisionmaking to operate more efficiently. If the problems are resolved more quickly by agreements and compacts, there will be less need for administrative measures. Spiljak stressed that restrictive measures must not be allowed to lead to an escalation of bureaucratic interventionism and the technomanagerial resolution of problems. Therefore, the activity of sociopolitical organizations and of all self-managing organs concerned with the development, adoption and implementation of measures aimed at carrying out the economic stabilization policy must be developed.

The CTUY must decisively advocate the attitude which states that all parts of society must bear the burden of stabilization as evenly as possible. But the greatest burden must be borne by those employees who, in production, in distribution and in consumption hold key positions and who can objectively make the greatest contribution.

The trade unions must also fight for workers who actively monitor the realization of the adopted policy of economic stabilization and who demand the accountability of business organs and specialized services whenever they do not adhere to the regulations and to the adopted agreements. The struggle against neglecting the interests of society as a whole, against advocating partial or temporary interests, against localism, and so forth, is also necessary.

In this connection, Spiljak warned about the enormous absenteeism in numerous organizations, and about casual behavior and the poor use of working time in many institutions.

In addition, many organizations which, due to the nature of their work, operate on weekends and on holidays, and which merely adopt decisions not to work, inflict immense damage on the economy.

It would also be useful, Spiljak said, to carry out a critical analysis of court decisions in order to see how much these decisions protect idleness and laggards. Those who do not work do not need protection, particularly when workers' meetings condemn them.

On the other hand, it is necessary to more decisively support and stimulate good workers and creative workers. The trade unions should come to grips with all these phenomena in a concrete manner and not only verbally.

Regarding employment, Spiljak noted that of the 750,000 workers registered as unemployed, a large number of them are in fact not unemployed. At the employment offices, for example, 2,200 doctors are seeking work, while in smaller places there is room for some 4,000 doctors. In the same vein, Yugoslavia's economy lacks 30,472 builders, 20,043 agricultural workers, 9,457 metal workers, 3,480 miners, and so forth. While in the economy there is a continuous shortage of production workers for many industrial branches, there is great pressure on office and nonproductive jobs. Therefore, the work on developing criteria to determine who is truly unemployed should be accelerated and all who are given jobs but do not accept them should be crossed off the unemployment register.

There are other expenses which, as a rule are not receiving the necessary attention. Thus, they are also outside the regular attention of the trade unions and often also outside the necessary inspection and influence of workers. It is usually thought that these are minor expenses, yet, in the first 9 months of last year 3 billion dinars were spent on advertising; 1.54 billion dinars for entertainment and over 20 billion dinars for other material expenses (use of private cars, subscriptions for newspapers, periodicals, books, brochures, and the cost of obligatory medical checkups). Furthermore, 17.6 billion dinars were spent on official travel expenses, on allowances for official duties away from home and other reimbursements. On top of that 22.9 billion dinars were spent on nonproductive services by others and authors' fees. This represents a total of 65.53 billion dinars. It should be established in every organization how these resources are spent and who decides on this expenditures.

Regarding housing construction, Spiljak said that there are plenty of meetings, consultations, analyses and conclusions yet housing construction continues to proceed very slowly and is becoming increasingly expensive.

In the field of health protection there is great lagging behind in preventive medicine, Spiljak stressed. Over 6 percent of the national income is being allocated for the health service and yet only 3-5 percent of this fairly considerable resource is spent on preventive medicine.

At the end of the debate, the council agreed that everything that has been said represented a good basis on which to develop the CTUY program to implement the 1980 economic stabilization policy. This work was entrusted to the CTUY Presidium. Mika Spiljak said in this connection that today's debate has provided enough motivation to immediately begin the concrete activities in every sphere.

The directions of activities are establishing income-based relations on the basis of the participation of basic organizations of associated labor in joint receipts and joint income were not adopted at today's session. It was decided that the proposed document was not specific enough and that it did not provide answers to the day-to-day questions raised by associated labor. It is evident that it is no longer sufficient to propose linking up on the basis of income as a solution to the many problems of economic activity. The solution must indicate the way in which the very complex tangle of all kinds of obstacles can be bypassed.

The introductory report on this topic was submitted by Janos Sreder. The debate pointed to some of these obstacles, uneven conditions of economic activity, lack of norms and standards to measure individual participation, shortcomings in the tax system, and so forth. The influence of every one of these questions as well as of many other issues has not been sufficiently investigated. Therefore, it was agreed that a broad debate should be held in the republics and provinces. Only after that will it be possible to determine the directions of activity which will provide associated labor with more elements to overcome difficulties in setting up income-based relations.

MIKULIC DISCUSSES LCY MEMBERS' ROLE, IMAGE

AU242105 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Jan 80 AU

["At the Center of Attention" program--live]

[Excerpts] In the program tonight, Branko Mikulic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, answers listeners' and viewers' questions in connection with the recent joint broadcast of Belgrade radio and television. The program is conducted by Aleksandar Vlajkovic:

[Vlajkovic] Dear listeners, good evening. The guest of our program is Branko Mikulic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Comrade Mikulic, good evening.

[Mikulic] Good evening.

[Vlajkovic] The occasion of our interview with our guest is in connection with the recent joint broadcast by Belgrade radio and television in which Comrade Mikulic spoke about many questions of the life and work of the League of Communists. The broadcast received great attention of the viewers and listeners to the "Together This Evening" program intended for Yugoslavs who live and work abroad. We shall ask Comrade Mikulic to reply now to some questions of our listeners at home and abroad.

[Mikulic] The image and role of the members of the League of Communists are defined in the program and the statute of the LCY. A member of the League of Communists should be distinguished both by a better understanding of the conditions of the revolutionary struggle and by personally standing in the front of the struggle for changing existing conditions. To paraphrase Marx' eleventh thesis on Feuerbach: The task of a communist is not merely to interpret the consciousness, but the consciousness must be changed.

In order that this may be successfully done, a member of the League of Communists must be a practical revolutionary: brave, courageous, truth-loving, principled, moral, a democratically formed personality and a persistent and unswaying fighter and humanist. However, all this does not separate the communists in an ethical sense from other people who are not members of the League of Communists but also struggle for the development of our society on the basis of socialist self-management, for the policy of nonalinement and other points. The League of Communists as a vanguard in fact expresses the objective revolutionary interests and strivings of the workers class and all the working people whose majority are not members of the League of Communists. The difference can exist only in the contribution which a person makes to this struggle. The communists should lead in this respect and should build their prestige and the trust of others only on this basis, not expecting any privileges in return.

The development of socialist self-management demands of communists always to behave and to serve as an example of true self-managers and democratic persons, to struggle persistently for the development and strengthening of socialist self-managing relations and the political system of socialist self-managing democracy primarily in their own self-managing organization and community and in society as a whole, to be constantly vigilant, to safeguard and develop the achievements of our revolution--brotherhood and unity and equality of the peoples and nationalities, independence and territorial integrity of the country, power by the workers class, working people and citizens, our federal system and others--to oppose in their own ranks and in society, in a knowledgeable way and without compromise, any technobureaucratic or other anti-self-managing and anti-socialist tendencies: nationalist, pseudo-liberal, statist, dogmatic tendencies and others. These are--of course there are others--the present-day fronts of our struggle in which we must participate bravely and persistently.

In our present struggle, just as in the preceding stages of the revolution, one needs renunciations, responsibility and discipline for instance in the implementation of the policy of stabilization--Marxist education and ability to carry out concrete ideological and political activities; a firm orientation to incessant, persistent and creative work in places where self-managing and political activities of the working masses are being carried on, which is to say among and together with the working people and citizens, and not about and inside centers of alienated power; a steel will in resisting the appropriation of the results of others' work, egotistic behavior and usurpation of self-managing rights of working people and citizens; a developed feeling for the harmonization of specific and common self-managing interests and so forth.

One must develop and strengthen the awareness that every one of us may today or tomorrow feel the consequences of the toleration of occurrences incompatible with socialist-self-managing morals and that we must all resolutely oppose such occurrences even when it appears that they may bring us an advantage, so that we may get something out of turn, or may obtain something to which we have no right, and the like. This also implies a persistent struggle for self-managing order and discipline, for self-managing regulation, for instance, of the allocation of apartments, of employment, of market behavior consistent with socialist self-managing business morals, of the distribution of income and personal income funds, solidarity and mutual assistance funds, expense accounts and other funds. It also implies a persistent struggle for public insight in work and not just verbally.

In connection with the question on how moral-political suitability is to be regarded, I would say that this notion has not arisen because of those who are involved in the building of socialist self-managing society, whether they are communists or not, are both morally and politically suitable and therefore they should only be evaluated by the success with which they carry out their tasks, by the results they have achieved and by the success with which they will be able to carry out certain tasks, if it is a matter of election to an office or work task.

The assessment of moral-political suitability protects society from those who, by their behavior, steps and actions, attempt to hinder the development of socialist self-management, who appear from positions opposed to the policy of the League of Communists or to the historical and current interests of the workers class and the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia. It is understood that this may sometimes include some members of the League of Communists. Anyhow, I presented my view on who is morally and politically suitable in my interview published in BORBA on 25 November last year.

[Vlajkovic] Comrade Mikulic, is the absence of frank utterances of some members of the League of Communists at meetings a consequence of experience that such utterances do not pay, or is this a kind of opportunism by which all the work and initiative are to be left to the secretariats of party organizations?

[Mikulic] It is difficult to deduct any general conclusions and assessments on the causes for the passivity of a number of the League of Communists members at meetings of basic organizations. People differ in their abilities, character and other points. Some are more skilled in discussion and others less, and this also applies to concrete actions.

However, at any rate and regardless of the causes, the passivity of the League of Communists members in discussions and concrete actions is conducive to opportunism. A League of Communists member must have no reason to passively regard some shortcomings and irregularities for opportunistic or practicist and selfish interests, for the aims of the League of Communists struggle are such that they must not be manipulated or subjected to speculative calculations. Expressing current and long-term interests of the workers class and all the working people and citizens, the program goals and the current policy of the LCY are exempted from that.

For a true communist, frank discussion and a critical examination of the situation and the problems in a specific community and beyond always pay, to use this infelicitous expression. This frankness may imply some momentary unpleasantness for an individual. One must bear this sometimes, for this, too, must be counted as an integral part of the uncompromising struggle of the League of Communists for the creation of humane relations in society. Of course we must work so that these undesirable situations will be as few as possible. We shall achieve this only by stimulating frank dialogs, critical constructive observations and a proper struggle of opinions, and not through passivity which makes possible an uncontrolled passage of occurrences, tendencies and positions of individuals and groups opposed to the policy of the League of Communists.

BRIEFS

POLISH CULTURAL COOPERATION--"A 3-year program of Yugoslav-Polish cooperation in the field of science, culture and education was signed in Belgrade yesterday. The document was signed by Stefan Staniszewski, ambassador in the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and by Bozina Invanovic, Montenegrin secretary for education, science and culture. In the field of science, the cooperation program envisages cooperation between the Polish Academy of Sciences and the SFRY Council of Academies of Sciences and Arts, joint research, and exchange of scientists and publications and so forth. In the field of education the program provides for a joint commission to work on analyzing history and geography textbooks and for direct contacts among 15 educational institutions." The program of cultural cooperation provides for the exchange of various exhibitions. [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jan 80 p 4 AU]

CROATIAN TRADE WITH U.S.--The Section for Economic Relations with the United States of the Economic Chamber of Croatia assessed on 23 January that Croatia's organizations of associated labor must this year increase their exports to the U.S. market by 40 percent compared with last year. In 11 months of last year, the Croatian economy exported goods worth $88 million to the United States, while at the same time it imported goods worth $271 million. Croatia's share in the overall Yugoslav exports to the United States is 26 percent, and in the imports 29 percent. [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 80 p 12 AU]